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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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19 February 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

INTERNAL MINISTRY PERSONNEL ACCUSED OF CORRUPTION, VIOLATIONS

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 5 Dec 84 pp 1-2

[Article by Lt Gen Kiril Maslenkov, chief of Cadre Administration, MVR  
[Ministry of Internal Affairs]: "Orders and Instructions Are Laws for  
Action"]

[Text] Our people are in a state of unparalleled upsurge in fulfilling and overfulfilling the 7th Five-Year Plan, the last phase of which is already upon us, under the slogan of high quality and a new approach and strict responsibility, formulated at the 12th BCP Congress and the National Party Conference.

The decisions and stipulations of the National Party Conference on Quality particularly apply to the work of the security organs. The specific nature of our work calls for paying great attention to problems of discipline and efficiency in the activities of all teams and units and for upgrading exigency and responsibility.

For the past 40 years the troops on the "invisible front"--militiamen, border guards and firefighters--have been honorably fulfilling their highly patriotic duty of defending the gains of the socialist revolution in our country. The successes of which we are proud are a manifestation of the upsurge and achievements of our entire society. That is precisely why we pay particular attention in our work and show concern for omissions and errors. We have fought, are fighting and will continue to fight against them mercilessly.

The elementary truth facing all our personnel is that we are above all soldiers of the revolution. To us iron discipline, class-party tempering and an active life stance and efficiency are absolutely mandatory. The obligations and responsibilities within our system are regulated through the orders and instructions of the chief, of the superior leadership. Like all regulations, they must be known and observed by everyone.

The orders and instructions of the leadership are the expression of the objective need of steadily improving the internal mechanism and functioning of the safety and public order authorities. They are the product of a profound critical study of the activities of the collective, the requirements and tasks which confront us and the experience we have acquired.

The respective orders and instructions governing the work of every official are a reliable tool which helps him in carrying out his daily assignments and solving difficult problems under unexpected circumstances. This is because they reflect summed-up experience and the wisdom and knowledge of several generations. That is why they are particularly valuable in our work. The profound study and interpretation of orders enable the MVR official to act properly under varying circumstances and to know his rights and obligations. They protect him from erroneous and inadmissible actions.

The BCP Central Committee has repeatedly called for the strict observance of socialist legality and for strengthening discipline as a decisive prerequisite for the successful implementation of the difficult and responsible assignments at the stage of building a developed socialist society. In accordance with these requirements, our ministry follows a firm course of high exigency and intolerance of negative phenomena and actions and holds violators of discipline and legality strictly liable. The state of discipline on all levels is considered along official and party lines. Respective orders and instructions are issued based on noted violations or recurring omissions. The MVR Collegium is concerned with cases, although isolated, in which officials grossly ignore the April stipulations of a political and party approach in their immediate duties, violate principles of discretion and high communist morality and ignore the one-man command principle.

Severe violations of statutory regulations, orders and instructions and even of laws which must be observed by all citizens of the Bulgarian People's Republic have been recorded. How can we rate cases of encroachment of socialist and private property by our officials, abuse of official position for one's personal benefit, a formalistic and callous attitude toward official assignments, beatings of citizens, scandalous behavior in public places, improper use of weapons, traffic accidents by our personnel or moral slackness? Equally dangerous are reduced vigilance, blabbering, violation of security and secrecy in the work, etc. All of this reveals, first of all, insufficient knowledge of guiding documents such as regulations, orders, ordinances and instructions; second, their improper application; third, lack of daily and efficient control over their implementation from top to bottom; and, fourth, oversight in the selection of cadres and lack of supervision by the leadership and the party organization over the development of newly hired officials or promoted personnel.

Such an uncritical attitude toward negative actions occasionally entails severe consequences. Practical experience has indicated that the process of ideological and communist upbringing is continuing and permanent. To the party member, self-criticism, a critical attitude, ability to analyze and sum up and self-improvement are elements of party discipline. That is why the absence of daily reciprocal exigency, tolerance of those who are passive in their work and toward the perpetrators of crimes and violations adversely affect those who are more unstable and undermine the reputation of the collective.

Exigency and the objective assessment of the work and the moral aspect of individual officials and collectives, intolerance of weaknesses and violations and the proper use of various incentives, ranging from wages to titles

and punishments to awards, are mandatory prerequisites in maintaining high-level discipline as dictated by the laws and regulations governing our system.

The regulations and orders of the minister of internal affairs and instructions, as we know, are not objects of discussion. They have the force of law. This is not to say that the officials must act like robots in carrying them out. Our laws and regulations demand of every MVR worker to accept and apply them consciously and to interpret them profoundly. This guarantees success in all activities.

The socialist nature of discipline is manifested above all in its moral-psychological application. It is an indicator of the ideological convictions and moral stability of the individual and a yardstick in the mastery and application of socialist values. Discipline indicates how and to what extent the mind of the individual combines the requirements of duty and social norms and ideals with internal personal wishes and preferences. That is why it can be considered a personal form of standards and evaluations and an imperative aspect of social relations. On this basis, conscious discipline invariably becomes self-discipline. In this case social requirements are present not as an external coercion but as the internal demands of the individual, as self-obligations. Self-discipline is also a form of personal self-advancement. It is an internally necessary aspect of the self-development of the individual. It is an active aspiration to overcome personal weaknesses, such as slackness, laziness, negative character features, etc. It is a struggle against personal shortcomings for the sake of the assertion of socially valuable qualities. It was no accident that V. I. Lenin believed that the victory of man over his own indifference is no less important than the seizure of political power and that lengthy and systematic education is needed to secure this victory.

The most important sociomoral levers through which the requirements of socialist discipline are implemented and the "subordination" of private to public interests is ensured are duty and responsibility. The more profoundly the individual is aware of the interests of the public, the greater becomes his civic, labor, social and military discipline. Conscious discipline presumes a total understanding of the inseparable ties between the individual and the collective and an awareness of the dominant role of social and state interests. Lack of such awareness always leads to manifestations of individualism, egotism, and an indifferent consumerist attitude toward life.

Responsibility is a source of social activeness and an internal obstacle to contamination by philistinism, self-complacency, egocentrism and callousness. According to Marxist-Leninist ethics, duty and responsibility, like all other moral requirements, reflect progressive laws and social development trends.

It must be understood that discipline is not a one-way influence from the leadership to the collective. It makes even stricter requirements of the leaders themselves, demanding of them to set a personal example and show principle-minded exigency. Formalism in the work of the leadership, absence of efficiency, lack of principles, forgiveness of weaknesses, liberalism, and misunderstood friendship, and behavior toward a fellow worker or landsman



have a destructive effect on the discipline of the entire collective. Irresponsibility and slackness displayed by the command personnel dull requirements, trigger a specific collective lack of responsibility and result in violations of discipline, i.e., of regulations and orders.

According to the Marxist-Leninist classics, a theory becomes a powerful weapon when it conquers the masses. Orders and instructions may become real laws of action only if they are as familiar to the personnel as the weapon to the soldier and if requirements have become a behavioral need.

Investigations have indicated that not everyone is familiar with legal documents. They are frequently kept in the files of commanders and forgotten; the implementation of their stipulations is not supervised and the extent to which the personnel are familiar with statutory regulations and the orders of the ministry leadership and their immediate superiors is not checked.

In order to be on the necessary level, as is demanded by the regulations and our duty, our weapon, the weapon of the Chekist, must always be in a state of combat readiness. Orders and instructions are part of our weaponry. They must become the elementary truth of everyone. Their implementation must be a reflection of every official and of his contribution to assignments. More frequent investigations, even in the form of tests, of the manner in which our officials are familiar with and apply regulations, rules and orders, would be useful. We must mandatorily determine the way the Instruction on Accountability and Rating of Discipline and Disciplinary Practice in the MVR and Order No I-48 on Steps for the Further Strengthening of Discipline in Ministry Units are observed.

Called upon by the revolution to be the shield and sword of our peaceful socialist gains, we must be at our post with an awareness of our tremendous responsibility to the party and the people, a feeling of duty, readiness for self-sacrifice and an uncompromising attitude not only toward weaknesses of others but of our own as well. Discipline and self-discipline are the live and specific manifestation of regulations, laws and orders. They outline the perimeter of manifestations of the personality of the MVR official, arming him with the power and principles of our socialist legality and enhancing him to the level of a guardian of the people against the enemies of socialism and peace.

5003

CSO: 2200/72



BULGARIA

# LACK OF DISCIPLINE AT INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY DISCUSSED

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 12 Dec 84 p 1

[Article: "Everyone's Business and Responsibility in the Struggle for High Quality"]

[Text] Several days ago, an expanded plenum of the rayon committee of the party took place under this slogan at the Ministry of Internal Affairs; at this plenum questions of discipline and maintaining the rule of law were thoroughly discussed. Members of the rayon committee, chiefs and secretaries of the party committees of the central subdivisions, persons in charge of the military-administrative divisions of the okrug committees of the Bulgarian Communist Party, secretaries of the party committees of the okrug administration and the Sofia Municipal Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and persons with positions of responsibility at the ministry took part in the plenum. Also taking part in the work of the plenum were candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Minister of Internal Affairs Maj Gen Dimitur Stoyanov; Maj Gen Velko Palin, who heads the Social and National Security Department of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party; Mincho Chuntov, secretary of the Sofia Municipal Committee, and others.

Georgi Shkutov, secretary of the rayon committee, delivered an address on the work of the party organs and the primary party organization at the Ministry of Internal Affairs on strengthening discipline. He based his argument on the necessity for high discipline now in the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Shkutov dwelled in some detail on the party political measures taken recently for strengthening it. The party committee organized a conversation on the theme of "Communism and Discipline in the Collective." Efforts have been made to improve the style and methods of working to strengthen discipline, to establish order and the rule of law, to raise the requirements for selection, education, and instruction of the cadres. With the assistance of the party committee, the Komsomol committees and associations, trade union organizations, the committee for people's control, and others have manifested a great deal of activity in this direction.

It was noted in the address that, thanks to the higher party standards, the majority of the communists in the ministry are working with greater effort and with a feeling of responsibility.

Despite the measures taken, however, a breakthrough in strengthening discipline still has not come. Extraordinary occurrences and violations of discipline have not stopped. It is especially alarming that the extraordinary occurrences have maintained the same character.

The reasons for the violations that have been permitted and the tasks that await fulfillment by the party committees and the primary party organization, by all communists, were pointed out in the address.

It was stressed that the party organs and organizations in a number of cases are not reacting in a timely fashion or at full capacity in the face of violations of discipline, that they are not working in a comprehensive way on this question, that formalism, tolerance, and liberalism are permitted. There are instructive elements in political-educational work, the primary party organizations are not learning in detail about each member of the collective, etc.

Lively debates arose because of the great acuteness of the questions raised in the address. The heads of the central units, secretaries of party committees, and others took positions.

Comrade Velko Palin gave a profound and detailed speech on the problems that had been raised for discussion. He gave a positive evaluation of the plenum's work. "The questions of conscientious discipline," Comrade Palin said, "have always stood in the center of the party's entire activity. These questions occupied an important place in the resolutions of the 12th Congress and the National Party Conference; they are closely linked with the struggle for high quality.

"The importance of discipline in the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is determined by the specifics of the tasks which it carries out. This importance is increased even more today, when American imperialism is using all possible means--ideological subversion, terrorism, etc.--to hamper the peaceful development of the socialist countries, including of course Bulgaria. Discipline is a precondition for our strength and combat readiness."

"The leadership of the ministry and the party committee," Comrade Palin emphasized, "has taken a number of important measures to raise the level of discipline. As a result of this, a tendency toward improvement in this area can be noted. It is, however, still not at the necessary level."

Comrade Palin spoke about several of the more characteristic violations, and he dwelled on the reasons for their being permitted.

First of all, he pointed out the insufficiency in the organizational work of those in charge. The persons who have the power are not following discipline practice correctly, they are not maintaining the rules strictly.

The political work of the party committees and the primary party organizations has shortcomings. In a number of sections, the party committees and the primary party organizations are not occupied with questions of discipline in a systematic way. The party political forms in this important direction of the entire activity are not sufficiently effective.

Based on all of this, Comrade Palin emphasized that it is necessary to raise the role and position of the communist as the single leader in the strengthening of discipline. To improve control and assistance, to raise exactitude, to work concretely with each person, to put an end to liberalism and indifference.

Another basic factor in raising the level of discipline is the perfection of party political work, freeing it from the formalism which exists in certain places, reinforcing class-party education, making positive experience widely known.

Comrade Palin recommended that the review and selection campaign in the party and the Komsomol be broadly utilized in the resolution of these tasks.

The plenum adopted the resolution contained in the program developed for work in all party committees, primary party organizations, and communists in the struggle for raising the level of discipline, rule of law, and following established order in the sections.

The questions which the plenum discussed are extremely important at the present time for each person serving in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Now everyone must devote trebled efforts to working on turning the resolutions of the plenum into concrete deeds.

12334

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BULGARIA

## NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF YOUNG GENERATION DESCRIBED

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 7 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ivan Slavov: "Homo Gorilla"]

[Text] He is not part of a special group in the atlas of human races. He appears as a normal person in population registers and in school and military service lists. More often than not he looks like a human being, and he frequently criticizes inhumanity in others. Every now and then his latest evil-doings disturb public peace and order, but all ends with an angry outcry in the press or on the radio by the duty journalist on moral problems. In all cases, the homo gorilla remains anonymous, undiscovered, furtive like a crafty beast of prey. During the day he conceals himself and fixes his sights on the object of his next crime. How does he come by his name of "Homo Gorilla?"

In our opinion he is the missing link between monkey and man, a result of incomplete evolution or regressive metamorphosis, caused by the alienation from work of a considerable part of the young. To him and the likes of him apply the words of Byron that half of humanity wrongly bears the name of "man." Where does home gorilla stalk, and what are his recognizable traits?

He and his brethren lead a hard existence. You will see them sitting on the steps of monuments or half lying at the main entrances of universities, public offices and railroad stations. They smoke, chew, munch and spit noisily and look down upon the world with bored eyes. They shuffle around in scruffy shoes and torn socks, they are filthy, their clothes untidy, and bags of various kinds with all sorts of emblems and pictorial signs hang from their shoulders. Every now and then they shout out a senseless and vague protest--it does not matter against whom. The important thing is to be considered as one who stands "beyond" and "above" the busy crowd with its shopping bags and baby carriages, to be recognized as different from the working people, the various "retirees" and intellectuals with a "Zeiss." During the day they charge up on energy: munch sandwiches, chicken, pastries and imbibe coffee, alcohol and millet-ale. They loaf about in coffee houses, pastry shops, day bars and clubs until their hour strikes: the hour of discos, dance halls, video arcades, the hour of an all-encompassing spitting at everything and everyone outside the gang. After several hours of feeding on the Freudian cocktail of primeval passions, alcohol and

thirst for release, some homo gorillas will charge for the jungle with a wild and animalistic screech. The beast in him begins to growl, his eyes are bloodshot, and his paws itch with destruction energy. God help the person who happens to be in his way. Form under the layers of millenia reappears the Neanderthal man with a stone or a wooden club in his hand, destroying everything that gets in his way. Some dark instinct attracts him to the very objects of civilization which had taken him away from savagery: telephone booths, glass-covered bus stops, street lamps, garden benches and arbors, traffic lights and billboards are smashed--in a word, all that is unprotected, needed by society, and which it has taken skill, time and work to create.

Yet homo gorilla, even in his destructive rage, somehow shows that he has been touched by civilization--he dreams of immortality. Why should he remain anonymous among the great destructive conquerors of kingdoms and empires such as Attila, Tamerlane and Genghis Khan? So homo gorilla scratches his name on church frescoes and icons, on museum and fortress walls, trees and car seats. The world must remember that, at a certain place and a certain time, one so-and-so was there to scratch out the eyes of the saints on the fescoes, slash with a pen knife the upholstery of the seat in the movie theater, on the bus or train, in order to prove that he stands above all and everything: he, the ever-present homo gorilla. What kind of a miracle is he? A miracle of nature or a social miracle? Who raises him, and what produces him? He can be anywhere, but he is most frequent where education is entrusted to all and therefore to no one in particular; where reigns the pedagogical maxim "we led a miserable life, let our children live it up"; where one relies more on reeducation than on family education; where one theorizes on pedagogical problems instead of solving them in a practical manner; where work is officially hailed as the highest virtue, while in practice the majority try to avoid it; where evil-doers are not punished or only symbolically so; finally, where the criminal is merely called "the defendant," the thief "the appropriator," and the hooligan "one who has deviated from healthy work morality."

Homo gorilla is more dangerous than the wild beast because he conceals his intentions and always makes surprise attacks. The lion kills only when he is hungry, the snake mostly attacks when it is threatened, the cannibal can be weaned from cannibalism, and ferocious beasts can be tamed through training. Only the evil-doer is hard to change, because neither he nor society officially considers his "deeds" as crimes. And this encourages him. So he stalks the worker, the foreman, the painter, the architect, electrician, gardener, or flower breeder until they have completed their work, so that he, under the cover of darkness, can trample it underfoot.

I believe that homo gorilla is not only an atavistic type but a hybrid of the Neanderthal man, as well as a neurotic coward who with bravado acts out his complexes in the dark. Is he man or gorilla? To be precise, he is gorilla-man. Compare him for a moment with a true and worthy representative of our species, and you will see that we do not exaggerate.



A surgeon spends some 8 or 10 hours, during the day or night, in the operating room to save a threatened human life, while homo gorilla, during the same time, breaks up glass cabins or burns a hole in the plastic covering of a telephone booth with a cigarette, cuts the bell cord or breaks the padlock of someone's mail box.

The mine worker sees the sun only a few times during the week in order to give light and warmth to others, while homo gorilla during this time damages lifts, puts out the eyes of captive birds, breaks light bulbs on staircases and streets and carves his immortal name into trees, benches and paintings.

Are we helpless against the evil-doer?

We write letters to parents and collectives with this advice: let them dig out tree stumps, let them dig up streets in our capital that have not yet been dug up, let them tear up books for having them turned into pulp.

If these measures fail we shall round up the most stubborn of the herd of home gorilla and return them to the jungle...from where they came. That is, if the monkeys will have them.

12635

CSO: 2200/73



NEW MEMBERS OF BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES LISTED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Nov 84 p 2

[Article: "New Academicians and Corresponding Members of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] The members of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences held four sessions between 12 and 16 November at which they voted by secret ballot for the election of new academicians and corresponding members of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. As a result of this vote, the Bulgarian Academy of Science, which counts among its members the best-known scientists of the country, now has 9 additional academy members and 23 additional corresponding members. Following are their names:

Academy members: Corresponding member Milko Borisov Ivanov, solid physics; corresponding member Kiril Borisov Serafimov, cosmic physics; corresponding member Stefan Georgiyev Khristov, quantum chemistry; corresponding member Aleksey Dimitrov Shelodko, colloidal chemistry; corresponding member Dimitur Markov Shopov, chemical kinetics and catalysis; corresponding member Ivan Vasilev Ivanov, heminthology; corresponding member Azarya Prizenti Polikarov, philosophy (dialectical materialism and methodology of natural sciences); corresponding member Niko Moysey Yakhiyel, sociology of science; corresponding member Veselin Dimitrov Khadzhinikolov, history and ethnography.

Corresponding members: Prof Vasil Atanasov Popov, mathematical analysis; Prof Petur Stoyanov Kenderov, mathematics (optimatization and management theory); Prof Stoycho Panchev Vulchev, physics of the atmosphere; Prof Evgeni Bogdanov Budenski, physics and chemistry (electrical chemistry); Prof Asen Asenov Khadzhiolov, molecular biology; Prof Mariya Petrova Papazova, physiology; Prof Lyubomir Mikhaylov Shindarov, virology; Prof Botya Atanasov Botev, general biology; Prof Ana Vurbanova Angelova, brain physiology; Prof Tsanke Stefanov Stoychev, medicinal toxicology; Prof Todor Georgiyev Nikolev, geology; Prof Minko Slavchev Minkov, engineering geology; Prof Boris Khristov Borovski, electronic computer technology; Prof Dimitur Nikolov Mishev, methods for the remote studying of the earth from space; Prof Khristo Georgiyev Kortenski, detonation-impulse metallurgy; Prof Dobrin Spasov Iliyev, philosophy (logic); Prof Stoyan Mikhaylov Mirchev, sociology; Prof Krustyu Goranov Ankov, theory and sociology of culture; Prof Mito Tsenov Isusov, Bulgarian history under socialism; Prof Kostadin Nikolov Lyutov, penal law; Prof Nikola Kostadinov Stefanov, theory of science.

The elections for corresponding members of the remaining five branches--neurology, surgery, pediatrics, plant selection and national economic planning--will be held at the December session of the academy members.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECH ATTITUDES TOWARD WEST DESCRIBED

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Nov 84 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Ambiguous Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] On the picturesque main square of the small town of Prachatitz at the edge of the Bohemian Forest the recruits of the garrison are lined up for the swearing in. The framework for the ceremony is impressive: the old houses have been tastefully renovated, which is happening not only in Prague, but also in many towns and villages with increasing intensity. In the neighboring village of Husinec stands the small farmhouse where Jan Hus was born, and in Prachatitz proper, at the end of the main square, the small old Gothic schoolhouse can still be seen where the great Czech reformer learned his Latin. Thus the military ceremony starts off quite impressively with the Hussite chorale. Then comes the Czech anthem in two parts, immediately followed by the Soviet anthem. At similar ceremonies, no NATO state plays the U.S. anthem after its own. And so it goes on: the deputy supreme political commissar of the Czechoslovakian Army announces that the swearing in ceremony has been scheduled on the anniversary of the Soviet October revolution. Formerly, this always related to 28 October, the founding day of the Czechoslovakian republic in 1918. As a finale, another very Russian-sounding march. Admittedly, no representative of the Soviet troops had appeared. None of them are stationed in southern Bohemia.

The reaction of the people standing around--relatives of the soldiers and local inhabitants--is one of friendly reserve; one's own national anthem is listened to with respect, during the Soviet anthem people begin to stir again. The whole ceremony is imbued with the atmosphere of an obligatory exercise. This probably holds true for other armies, also; but one is also aware that since 1968, the alliance with the Soviet Union is generally seen in a different light than before, especially after 1945. The whole superstructure of sovietization which, as at this ceremony, is imposed on a fundamentally central European world, appears artificial. Although one hardly hears the idea of "central Europe" in political discussions in Czechoslovakia--in contrast with Hungary--, it is alive and active. The love alone with which the old cultural monuments are again maintained, demonstrate this. The Czech TV serial, "The Hospital at the Edge of Town," which is being shown by neighboring Western television networks, has topped the number of viewers of "Dallas" in Austria, although reality has been greatly glossed over, according to Czech observers. But the average Austrian, particularly of the eastern parts of the country, can better identify with the atmosphere of even a Communist Czechoslovakia than with that of far-off America.

According to official data, during the past year almost 77 percent of Czech foreign trade was with socialist countries, 43 percent of this with the Soviet Union. During the last 4 years, this percentage of communist countries increased by about 6 percent. Does this leave room for expansion of Czechoslovakian trade with the West? The Prague foreign ministry affirms this determinedly and tries to make the figures mentioned look relative. The percentage shift during the last 4 years was not a quantitative change, but only the result of certain price rises within the Comecon trade, including petroleum. Most standard prices within Comecon are based on average world market prices of the preceding 5 years. The quantity of turnover with the West had increased by 10 percent in the past 4 years, and the total foreign trade volume had grown by 3 percent. It must also be taken into consideration that even before the war, about 20 percent of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade was with what today are Comecon countries. Taking all this into account, the one-sided orientation toward the East—which in principle is not being denied and is explained time and again by the alleged Western boycotts during the fifties—is not all that massive. Even in the fifties, the share of socialist countries in foreign trade had been about 75 percent, then dropped to 68 percent, and now has increased again.

When judging Czechoslovakian foreign trade, one must also take into consideration the absolute amount of foreign trade volume with Western industrial states. The 16.5 percent which goes to the account of developed Western countries amount to about \$4.9 billion, after all. However, one also hears official statements in Prague to the effect that today, in view of the world situation, restrictions might be re-introduced and that Czechoslovakia, to avoid becoming dependent, should work toward developing trade with the West only very cautiously, if at all. Prague's attitude differs in this respect from that of other socialist states. It is being pointed out in the Czechoslovakian capital that other socialist countries landed in great difficulties because of large-scale entanglements with the West and the resulting debts; Czechoslovakia is not about to follow such examples under any circumstances. Czechoslovakian debts to the West are presently estimated at \$3 billion; they were reduced last year by about \$400 million.

Thus Czechoslovakia presents in the field of foreign trade the same ambiguous, elusive image as in other areas: things are not quite as one-sided as one might deduce from published statements and formal procedures, but nonetheless they are determined more by the political-ideological superstructure than one might believe from statements by pure practitioners. One gains the over-all impression that the relationship especially of the Czech people with the total surrounding world was deeply disturbed by the difficult historical developments of the past 50 years, and that no change is visible in this condition. The atmosphere in Czechoslovakia is lighter and more open. Before the war, Czechoslovakia was a country with Western democratic institutions and political ties to the West; it possessed a high level of economic development, and in some areas it held a leading position in Europe. Then came the blow of Munich,

followed by wartime experiences, which in turn were succeeded by the conditions during the fifties and those of 1968. Hardly any people can come to grips with such blows in a relatively short period. It does not seem incomprehensible that those who constitute the government today want to fix their country's position once and for all and thus rid themselves of all uncertainty. Will this succeed?

There was a moment when the West, (in particular the United States which was not a participant in Munich), could have at least partially mitigated, although not neutralized, the psychological effects of the year 1938. During the last days of April 1945, U.S. troops marched into western Bohemia and occupied a narrow strip from the western Bohemian Forest to Pilsen and Karlsbad until the end of June 1945. That event will have its 40th anniversary this coming spring, and it then will reenter the political awareness of people. The attitude of the Communist government toward the fact that part of the country was liberated by the United States has always been contradictory and deeply embarrassed; but those facts time and again produced political effects, especially in the regions concerned. Every year, the U.S. ambassador gives a commemorative speech in Klattau in front of a plaque with the names of fallen U.S. soldiers. In Bergreichenstein, there is a commemorative plaque which sometimes is put up at the town hall, and sometimes not; when we drove through this time, it was not to be seen. From a military standpoint, it would have been easy for the Americans to push on to Prague at the time and relieve the Prague rebels, instead of the Soviets. For political reasons they waived it. Today one must say that the psychological effect of such an action would have been enormous.

9917

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KORCAK DISCUSSES ECONOMY PROSPECTS AT 12TH PLENUM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 84 p 3

[Speech by Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSR Government]

[Text] The CSR Government has paid special attention to preparing the plan for the next year. We have responsibly evaluated the proposals from the individual ministries and considered the possibilities as to how we could best carry out the tasks set by the 16th Party Congress. We approved a plan which is based on the goals of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and long-range intentions as well.

What do our accounts look like for the next period? The results of the first 4 years of the 5-year plan show that the main directions are being successfully pursued and in many areas the plan is being overfulfilled. These facts confirm the correctness of the 5-year plan concept and the prudence of the orientation toward the restoration of balance as a basis for more rapid formation of material resources in the last 2 years.

It has been shown that our economy is capable of dealing with changed conditions and developing even with lower consumption of energy and raw materials. We have been convinced that we can ensure the development of the national economy even with reduced resources by mobilizing reserves. The planned growth rate for national income will be exceeded in 4 years. The success is due to a reduction in production costs, growth in the productivity of labor and fulfillment of the profit plan. There has been a steady increase in the share of our enterprises' production which is exported, and it now amounts to almost half the entire federation's volume.

In agriculture, we succeeded in paying off the debts from the beginning of the 5-year plan. Construction is also keeping up with the plan indicators. In the basic types of foodstuffs and industrial goods, our market as a whole is well supplied.

We are carrying out the congress resolutions in the field of social policy by creating the necessary resources. The results achieved have been positive, but they do not conceal from us the critical outlook necessary for a number of continuing problems. We have many problems with the worsening environment, with the obsolescence of a great deal of the material technical base of industry,

with shortages in construction capacity, and with thoroughly neglected maintenance of the housing inventory. We are looking for resources and ways to speed up the solution of these indisputable problems.

This is a matter of long-term, expensive investment actions which we cannot handle with our existing resources. We are also aware of our own weaknesses and mistakes. We are constantly running into cases of lack of discipline, low managerial efficiency, and individual indolence. The public criticism of this is fully justified. Even though adjustments are taking place slowly, the change is within our power and we want to deal with it even more decisively and thoroughly.

We consider next year's plan to be realistic, even though it puts heavy demands on the economic sphere. To tell the truth, we must say that not all enterprises are dealing with the increased tasks with sufficient responsibility and that they are always underrating their own capabilities and trying to get increased resources without the corresponding increase in output. The government critically detailed the fact that 88 enterprises in the Czech Socialist Republic, or 1 in 7, did not fulfill the industrial production plan in the first three quarters of this year.

The growing current needs are justifiably characterized by the words difficult, complicated, and demanding. It would be a mistake to overlook these facts. But it is not in keeping with the honor, experience, and qualifications of some supervisory economic workers if they exaggerate and expand on the objective difficulties and obstacles. They have got used to pointing them out as excuses for low quality and delayed deliveries while "rejecting" criticism, even to the extent of justifying their own passivity. As managers, we need people who can take on jobs with the internal conviction that they are in their positions in order to show how to handle things.

The party does not get much help from those people who talk as if they recognize the conclusions of our economic policies in their general concept, but then when they take on a task they look for shortcuts and think more about justifying possible failures than about boldly looking for opportunities. We cannot avoid risks even in our economic policies. This is also true for next year's plan. There is nothing wrong with openly talking about problems, but this cannot be allowed to become a pretext for an attitude of coming up with alibis and harmful overcautiousness.

At what are we directing next year's plan and on what are we basing it? The Czech Government will strive for the greatest possible input into the Czechoslovak economy. We reckon on a growth in national income of 2.9 percent, almost exclusively from intensification and a further growth in economic efficiency. The productivity of labor from adjusted value added is supposed to increase by 3.7 percent in our production branches, while the material and energy costs of production will be further reduced. We want to take further steps toward increased self-sufficiency in the production of foodstuffs and in adding to construction capacity for current tasks of capital construction projects. We will devote the main portion of investments to the modernization of fixed assets and to more rapid solutions for environmental protection, especially in the most threatened areas.

In carrying out our economic intentions, we depend on the plan for research and development based on continuous application of the recommendations of the Eighth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum. We do not see this as an obligation of just the center, but rather of the entire economic sphere. We cannot be satisfied with the approach of some ministries and economic production units to date. We feel that this is a matter of enforcing the principle at all management levels that fulfillment of the plan as a whole, and not just individual indicators, is determined by systematic and deliberate attention to scientific and technical progress.

We have a lot of problems, and will continue to have them, with the consumer industry, which is one of our traditional branches of trade. We value the fact that with minimal inputs it has been able to increase production for the domestic market, and to an even greater degree for export as well. The demands for further expansion of export of consumer goods to the Soviet Union testifies to the skill of our workers, and are in agreement with our attempts to increase the role of this branch of industry in our economy. This is mainly a matter of increasing the rate of development of the textile and footwear industry. We see this as a political matter, as well as a matter of production and economics. Indeed, these industries made famous the craftsmanship and ingenuity of Czech workmen and equipment and became in the minds of our people an example of honest, high-quality work recognized both at home and throughout the world. In planning the extensive program of reconstructing and modernizing many enterprises, we want to maintain these traditions and develop them further. We rely on the successful work collectives of those branches of industry which show exceptional devotion and high work morale to help us in this. We particularly value the contributions that women have made to the results achieved.

We are succeeding in innovating some of our products. We are not hiding the fact that some consumer goods are not of a quality suitable for the current requirements of either domestic or foreign customers. It will not be easy to reconcile the demands of the domestic and foreign markets. We support increased exports and in order to achieve them we will create the necessary capacity, material, and organization. But for the future we do not want to allow any new types of goods which are not of the proper quality. A lot depends on close cooperation between the producer and the seller, which together bear the responsibility for a good supply level. No small number of goods are the subject of justifiable criticism. For example, the route from the producer to the customer is too long, due to inflexibility and bureaucratic obstacles. On the other hand, even the production enterprises react very slowly to demands and do not change the variety of goods to meet the needs of the market fast enough. We cannot go on forever explaining away serious deficiencies in the supply of basic types of goods with arguments about the need for exports. In resolving actual situations, more than once it has been shown that not all of the possibilities for production and marketing were utilized in looking for a more acceptable solution, and that instead of exercising initiative the path of least resistance was taken. More decisive overcoming of departmentalism and more thorough application of the interests of society as a whole for production and marketing should result in greater satisfaction for our citizens.

Construction work is also going through a similar adjustment to changes in the structure of capital construction projects. On the basis of fulfilling the

statements of the Central Committee leadership on construction tasks, we are gradually overcoming the lag behind current needs. Successes include the delivery of a number of important capital construction projects on time, fulfilling the housing construction plan, and entering into foreign competition. We also consider as successes the progress in expanding performance wages, in achieving growth in "hard to fill" professions, and in acquiring enough qualified welders. But we cannot continue to overlook the poor state of the housing and nonhousing inventory. Both centralized and local construction must more rapidly prepare for changes in their internal organization, so that along with the new housing construction projects they can also support extensive reconstruction and regular maintenance. During the transition period, we will not be able to get along without foreign capacity. We are aware that there are considerable reserves available in the management of construction enterprises, in the rate of introducing modern equipment, and in work morale.

Construction production will always determine to a large degree the quality of the housing and nonhousing inventory, the cultural nature of housing, and the living standard. This is not just a matter of the builders themselves. The engineering industry, chemical industry, and other branches of industry also make their contributions to the production and delivery of new materials and technology. Not everything is in order here, either, and it will be necessary to change a lot of current practices gradually. We are working up the tasks from the 11th CPCZ Central Committee Plenum on the development of agriculture and other branches that provide nourishment for the people. This year the largest harvest in history for our agriculture approached 8 million tons of grain. But even this high production level does not exhaust all our capabilities. For example, we must gradually bring our grain production up to the level of our potato and beet production, as Comrade Strougal said at the 10th Congress of Unified Agricultural Cooperatives.

The national committees have an irreplaceable role in achieving economic policies. Their performance in the past 4 years has been good. After the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, we succeeded in improving a number of matters in the activities of the national committees, even though we are not satisfied with the rate at which changes are taking place. Introduction of the election programs of the National Front is being successfully carried out. These will have a considerable economic and political effect. We want to evaluate the experience gained and closely connect the preparation of the new election programs with the policies of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

Volunteer work under Action Z is one of the lasting forms of organizational activities of the national committees and of mass actions by the populace. In forthcoming years, we want to orient it more toward improving the environment. We value the initiatives of the national committees and we will create continuously better conditions for them. In the interests of the populace, we have in mind a further strengthening of the role of the national committees in territorial and industrial branch planning. We will lead them toward a fuller utilization of their authority and to increased responsibility for local and national affairs.

We consider the proposed plan for 1985 to be a realistic program for the economic policies of the party and the socialist state. We have the necessary



prerequisites for carrying it out. We can depend on considerable resources, but we are aware of obstacles and difficulties. But we are convinced that it is within our power to overcome the weak points and to achieve the established goals. By better utilization of reserves and development of people's initiative, we can fulfill our responsibility for improving the Czechoslovak economy and carrying out the tasks assigned us by the 16th Congress of our party.

6285

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### NEW MEASURES CONCERNING YOUTH ANNOUNCED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] Prague, 6 December (CTK)—A joint meeting of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Government and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] took place in Prague on Thursday. It was emphasized there that the measures adopted at the joint meeting held in November 1982 had been fulfilled.

This applies to the extension of vacation time for workers 18-23 years old to 3 weeks, improved health care for university students—for example, by opening clinics at the dormitories of the Advanced School of Economics, Advanced School of Chemistry and Technology, and the Czech Advanced School of Technology in Prague, and by transferring students in certain districts of the capital city to the care of the district institutes of national health. Everything is ready for the remodeling of a polyclinic for students of the Prague advanced schools on Spalena Street.

The number of students taking their meals in the cafeterias in Prague, Plzen, Liberec, and Kosice has increased. The revamped principles of material and financial security of university and secondary school students, effective 1 September 1984, strongly favor students with outstanding academic records. The conditions for summer work have improved. At the same time, it is necessary to make sure that the Czech and Slovak ministries of education and health, in cooperation with the SSM Central Committee, continue to pay the necessary attention to the improvement of the health care of university students and the expanded availability of meals at various university centers.

Also appreciated was the experimental formation and use of the youth incentive account. This initiative has netted Kcs 50 million for our national economy in the course of 2 years, and 33 selected SSM organizations have effectively contributed through their activities to the accelerated introduction of science and technology. For this reason, it was also recommended to test the possibility and suitability of the youth incentive account in those ministries where this experiment has not been tried.

The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Government and the Secretariat of the SSM Central Committee emphasized at their joint meeting that the transition to a more vigorous national economy and the more extensive use of the recent achievements of science and technology presuppose that the younger generation will be exposed to intensified processes and changes. The program of encouraging children and young people to participate in scientific and technical development, worked out in accordance with the 1982 resolution of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Government and discussed at the joint meeting, has as its goal the creation, together with the material-technical prerequisites, of the social requirements for preparing the younger generation for scientific-technical changes in the economy and elsewhere and to encourage the young people to get actively involved in these changes. Young people with a healthy ambition and a feel for new and unconventional solutions can help in carrying out progress in science, in technology, and labor organization.

The joint meeting agreed that the program corresponds fully to the demands for linking the young generation with the application of progressive trends in electronics, automation, robotics and biotechnology in the life of society.

The fulfillment of the proposed program concerns the pupils of basic schools as well as secondary school and university students, secondary vocational training center students, as well as young people in the production process. Today, some 8 to 10 percent of the young people in schools and training centers take part in some form of scientific-technical activity. The realization of this program would roughly double such participation over the next 5 years.

In order to achieve a qualitatively higher degree of scientific-technical activity on the part of our young people, the state and economic organs and organizations of the National Front will adopt concrete measures for the realization of the program to encourage children and young people to participate in scientific-technical development during the Eighth 5-Year Plan. For example, within the framework of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development there will be created a council of scientific-technical activity of young people as an incentive and advisory organ.

The joint meeting of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Government and the SSM Central Committee Secretariat also discussed certain sociopolitical problems concerning the youth, solutions to which could be undertaken in the coming period. This concerns especially the legal status of the youth in Czechoslovakia, the role of young married couples and families, the improved organization and operation of Pioneer camps, and other topics.

The joint discussion of these and other issues proves that the highest state organs really care for and are interested in the needs of our younger generation. It is also a significant contribution by Czechoslovakia to the forthcoming International Youth Year.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

YOUTH EDUCATION IN SOCIALIST VALUES CRITICIZED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 28, 1984 pp 8-10

[Article by Vlastimil Krafl, secretary, South Bohemia Kraj CPCZ Committee in Ceske Budejovice: "To Strengthen Socialist Discipline and Morality in Schools"]

[Excerpts] The harmonious development of the economy, of social relations, the political superstructure, as well as of the individual himself as the main productive force and the highest value in society requires a qualitatively new approach to education and the socialist upbringing of our young people.

Our educational system and individual schools and teachers are being repeatedly criticized for inadequate quality of instruction and the even less satisfactory level of their ideological-political positions, their worldview, and their ethical and practical education. They are also criticized for their failure to imbue our young people with respect for the values of our society, to lead to conscious work for the benefit of the entire society, to train their pupils and students as selfless builders and defenders of the country, conscious patriots, and convinced internationalists.

The solution of these shortcomings must become, together with other tasks related to the educational training process, a priority for all schools and especially party basic organizations. Their task is to analyze the work of the schools in which they function, to identify in time and solve the problems which appear in their activities and insist that the families, trade union and youth organizations, national committees and economic organs, and production and work collectives pay the necessary attention to our schools.

Not all teachers and educators appreciate the fact that today's demands on the ideological-political education of the young people, on the formation of their Marxist-Leninist worldview, on their sense of responsibility, organizational ability and discipline have multiplied. Similarly, they fail to appreciate that under the conditions of sharply aggravated international tension it is necessary to increase our vigilance against the ideological subversion of imperialism which relies on the political immaturity of some of our young people.

Among the so-called useless concerns and trivia in which many managers and teachers fail to see the manifestations of hostile ideologies are the consumer orientation of certain pupils and students, the toleration of certain tendencies in their attraction to the decadent Western culture, which is reflected among other things in the decorations of rooms in hostels and dormitories, in clothing styles, and the behavior of pupils and students in public. All these phenomena bring about justified criticism from our citizens and illustrate the fact that some teachers have not yet been able to adopt the more effective methods of educational work, that some teachers and educators are indifferent to the attitudes of the young people to the party's policy and of their behavior to the values created by the older generations.

Experience from the past once again confirms that nothing is as complicated as educating pupils and students in socialist patriotism and internationalism. Certain teachers forget that this requires much knowledge, pedagogical ability, patience, and masterful influence not only on the students' minds but also their feelings. They also forget that patriotism and proletarian internationalism cannot be learned by pupils and students merely by quotes from textbooks. Primarily, however, it is necessary that teachers educate pupils and students in active socialist patriotism and internationalism by serving as an example, by cultivating through the unity of their words and deeds patriotic and internationalist pride in their students, thus contributing to their civic maturity.

An irreplaceable textbook in socialist patriotism and internationalism is the period which 40 years ago saw the birth of our freedom and the people's democratic republic. We are certain that each and every school and its teacher will use more effectively than so far the testimonials of the participants of those days and through their reminiscences enliven the events described in the books. They will thus make it possible for their pupils and students to understand not only the meaning of the struggle against fascism but also the present effort of progressive people to maintain and defend peace.

Also, the analysis of the level and effectiveness of the teaching of civics, history, and the social sciences at basic and secondary schools conducted by the Education Department of the Kraj National Committee shows that these disciplines still do not explain fully to our young people the revolutionary changes in the world, the basic principles and historical advantages of socialism, and the reactionary and elitist basis of capitalism. They fail to offer on the basis of the class approach persuasive answers to the questions of contemporary social life, and they almost never create a political atmosphere vis-a-vis the bourgeois and consumer-oriented attitude of certain young people. Even here the basic reason for this is subjective. Teachers for the most part see in these disciplines a mere instrument for general education and increased knowledge of pupils and forget that the level of civic instruction influences to a great extent the formation of the pupils' ideological awareness and moral profile, the level of maturity of their thinking, as well as the effectiveness of preparing them for independent activity after graduation.



The way pupils and students are guided to study and work, to collectivism and to making higher demands upon themselves and others is also a weakness in the methods used by our schools. In spite of certain indisputable achievements in assisting our agriculture, summer activities, and students' technical and scientific skills, one cannot ignore the fact that practical instruction, training, professional orientation and direct participation in socially beneficial activity have not yet become the decisive factor in the formation of a conscious attitude regarding study, civic maturity, moral, intellectual and physical development of pupils and students of basic, secondary and advanced schools. The schools do not pay sufficient attention to the fact that whatever careers their graduates pursue, good work experience will make them successful in any type of activity.

Present research has confirmed that contrary to the efforts of our society there is no basic change in the professional orientation of our youth respecting the needs of society, especially its scientific-technical development. Many examples from hiring graduates illustrate that aspirations and desires are often greater than the actual knowledge and abilities of the pupils and students, that one cannot build the future of a young human being merely on fads, parents' or friends' opinions, or the popularity of a fast and easily earned income.

The family has a significant role in the system of communist education. Not all parents fully understand, however, the desirable character attributes, which include a correct attitude toward collectives and society. Sometimes one has to wonder at the cavalier attitude of the parents who confuse the advantages the society offers to young people with privileges for their children, or who confuse the care of children with services.

It is systematic contact of schools and teachers with parents which is the weakest link in the entire system. So far many teachers do not consider it a normal part of their work to hold sincere and open discussions with parents. The practice of personal visits paid to families by teachers has almost disappeared.

As in other sectors, in securing the required quality of education and socialist upbringing of our youth, the entity the most easily mobilized is a subjective agent, namely, the teacher. His ideological conviction, professionalism, responsibility for the results of his work and his behavior serve as an example for pupils, students, and young people in general.

In order to have more such teachers we need the help of the pedagogical collectives, which must create a moral and political climate which would not tolerate slapdash performance or irresponsible work, and which would resolutely overcome the existing formalism, permissiveness and lack of criticism.

1277

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SUBTLER METHODS OF ATHEISTIC EDUCATION SUGGESTED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 24, 1984 pp 29-30

[Article by Otto Sedlak, deputy chairman, CPCZ Committee at the Brno Construction Enterprise: "Atheistic Education--An Indivisible Part of Ideological Work"]

[Excerpt] Atheistic education has a significant role in forming a socialist individual. However, it has not yet become universally part of the planning of the ideological activity of party basic organizations. When it is included in these plans it represents more of a formality than a real need of the present time. And the latter requires more intensive atheistic education, propaganda, a resolute uncovering of the contemporary policy of the Vatican and clerical anticommunism, whose goal is to destabilize the socialist countries and, as shown from recent experiences from the Polish People's Republic, the liquidation of the achievements of socialism.

One of the goals of scientific atheistic education is to win over believers for an active role in the economic, political, and cultural life of our society and to guide them to the observance of the norms of socialist morality. From this point of view the important educational factors are a good family atmosphere and a healthy atmosphere in the working collective, including sound labor organization.

Experience shows that it is necessary to avoid a bureaucratic attitude vis-a-vis believers, not to leave them to solve their own difficult problems, and not to disparage their opinions. We must respect their religious feelings. However, we must not permit these feelings to be exploited or misused for the goals of political clericalism. As equal citizens of our society, believers are in some way or other involved in our socialist social relations, the social conditions and environment in which they live. Under the influence of the latter, believers face a conflict between their religious worldview and the surrounding reality, social and scientific-technical progress. This very fact must be used to guide those believers to understand the world in which they live and work appropriately.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the Socialist Youth Union should play a significant role in the formation of appropriate worldviews of our believers. I say that they should advisedly, because experience shows that

we cannot be satisfied with the existing situation. We meet a formalistic attitude whenever little attention is paid to these problems. However, these social organizations also include communists whose duty is to implement the leading role of the party in this respect as well.

In homes an important role in the struggle for the socialist thinking of people is played by civic boards. Their establishment is an expression of Marxist humanism. They officiate at birth ceremonies, and take part in golden and silver wedding anniversaries and funerals. The focus of their activity, however, must be systematic work with our citizens in their long-term preparation for conscious participation in these ceremonies, in creating a new, socialist way of life. In this respect it is necessary to improve the activities of the civic boards in many respects. This could be done in closer cooperation with the local national organizations of the National Front. Deputies of the national committees should also offer more assistance to civic boards. As far as various civil ceremonies are concerned, their success to a great extent depends on those who are in charge, especially those who make speeches. Their role, significance and influence are not, however, fully appreciated. This can be seen from the fact that there are only a few able speakers who can affect the minds and emotions of the people as required by these civil ceremonies. The national committees, especially in those places with a large number of believers, should pay serious attention to this important problem.

I am aware that the tasks and problems I am discussing are not new. However, because of their nature they must be given the attention they deserve. This attention must start with the inclusion of atheistic education in the plan of ideological activity of each and every party basic organization and end with its consistent application in all sectors of social life.

1277

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SEMINAR ON CYRILLOMETHODIAN MISSION

Prague TVORBA in Czech 27 Dec 84 p 2

/Text/ Recently, a seminar prepared by a group of lecturers of the South Moravian Regional CPCZ Committee was held in Brno and dealt with the tasks of communists in the ideological education and atheist propaganda related to the 1,100th anniversary of Methodius' death.

The Byzantine mission of Cyril and Methodius, which had great cultural significance for the cultural and national development of Greater Moravia, has increasingly become the subject of public attention. With the coming anniversary of Methodius' death, however, it is also being misused by certain circles in the West, with the aim of distorting the history of our oldest state.

Participants of the seminar listened with great interest to reports on the results of scientific research which strictly separates facts from myths, half-truths, allegations and outright lies, striving for a hostile interpretation of the meaning of the struggle for Czech statehood. The seminar deliberations focused on the Byzantine mission as it affected Greater Moravia, the traditions of the mission in the 19th and 20 century and, finally, problems of the Cyrillomethodian tradition with respect to our culture.

The informed presentation of the Cyrillomethodian period in our state's history inspired a lively debate among the participants of the seminar, mostly lecturers on scientific atheism from all districts of the South Moravian Region. There was also discussion of timely problems connected with the coming 1,100th anniversary of Methodius' death.

9496  
CSO: 2400/187

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SPACE SHUTTLE LINKED TO STAR WARS ARMAMENT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Dec 84 p 7

/Article by Dusan Rovensky: "Space Shuttle's Secret Mission"/

/Text/ Washington, D.C., 24 Dec--The United States has no intention of abandoning its "Star Wars" program proposed by President Reagan. These were the words of Defense Secretary Weinberger in a Sunday interview with the ABC television network. The secretary also emphasized that the United States "will naturally have to modernize and strengthen its first-strike weapons systems," and mentioned the MX ballistic missile in this connection.

Weinberger's Sunday interview, like his press conference in Washington last week, demonstrated that the United States is accelerating its preparation of a space war, through development and production of space weaponry. Unlike its previous missions, the flight of the space shuttle on 23 January 1985 is shrouded in secrecy. This is because it will position in space equipment for military espionage against the Soviet Union, as well as other devices whose task it is to create conditions for a first nuclear strike against it. The shuttle flights will henceforth serve exclusively military purposes, while peaceful exploration of space was curtailed.

Space armament is being accelerated, despite the fact that the United States has agreed to consider this problem at the January foreign ministers' meeting. The secrecy surrounding the space shuttle's January mission is intended to conceal the fact that the Pentagon has assumed control over most of the space program, for which it has received substantial financial means.

Development and production of space weapons, commissioned by the Pentagon, have already begun in many American firms, such as General Research Corporation in Santa Barbara, Hughes Aircraft in El Segundo, Lockheed Missiles in Sunnyvale, Martin Marietta in Denver, Colorado, McDonnell Douglas, Rockwell International, and others.

Under Pentagon planning, space armament is being accelerated especially in the following areas:

--strengthening about 100 American satellites which, in case of conflict, are to "blind" the system of Soviet warning satellites. This is a step of an offensive character;

--improving satellite communications among components of the U.S. strategic forces deployed on various continents and oceans. This is intended to achieve the element of surprise in an aggressive war;

--continuing development and production of antisatellite weapons. New tests are scheduled for next spring and include, first of all, missiles carried by fighter-bombers, which are to be used against elements of the Soviet anti-ballistic system;

--training, already initiated by the Pentagon, of strategic air force personnel who will in the future represent the nucleus of "space units";

--systematic establishment of a command infrastructure which will in the future direct the conduct of military operations in space.

In the next 4 years, dozens of space shuttles will take off from Cape Canaveral, carrying into space artificial satellites and the first components of a future military system in space. Consequently, NASA postponed the flight of the Skylab space station, planned for January, in order to make room for the military programs.

The U.S. strategic air force had already established its space headquarters in Colorado 2 years ago. Launching pads are currently being speedily completed at Vandenberg in California, with the aim of making this base a military counterpart of Cape Canaveral. A space operations center is also under construction in Colorado Springs and elsewhere.

All these activities have one common goal, namely, to accelerate preparations for a conflict in space. They represent a new United States initiative to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union.

9496

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PARTY JOURNAL RESPONDS TO WESTERN CRITICISM OF PLANNING

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 39 No 21, 1984 pp 841-843

[Article by Dr K. Endler, Party College "Karl Marx" under CC of the SED:  
"Planning - Socialist Democracy in Action"]

[Text] The 35 years of the GDR bear witness that socialism "enables each individual by socialist democracy to codetermine social concerns, creatively cooperate in their settlement." (1) This is particularly evident in the state planning of our national economy, one of the greatest benefits of our socialist society. It represents genuine democracy in action because, led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the people are planning at an increasingly high standard for the benefit of the people. This has been specially true since the historic decisions adopted by the Eighth SED Congress.

Based on the perceptions of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the experiences of the Soviet Union and our own, the democratic nature of planning in our country emerges particularly clearly in the drafting and implementation of the economic plans--proceeding on the principles of democratic centralism. By way of the economic plan, "we are more and more effectively combining the central management and planning of the national economy with the own responsibility of combines, enterprises and all institutions of the national economy, with the initiative and activism of the working people." (2) Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels explained the necessity of central planning for the exercise of power by the working class and as an important requirement of the productive forces. In the Communist Manifesto they wrote that, upon the conquest of political power, the proletariat centralizes all instruments of production in the hands of its state and as quickly as possible multiplies the mass of productive forces "according to a common plan." (3)

Central state planning's role in the concrete realization of the interests of the working class and the people as a whole is indispensable even during the construction of socialism, let alone the organization of the developed socialist society. It is the decisive tool for the implementation of the Tenth SED Congress decisions and the simultaneous accomplishment of our two strategic tasks: To secure peace and successfully continue to pursue the policy of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy for the benefit of the people.

In this new stage of the realization of our economic strategy, central state planning guarantees comprehensive intensification in the long term and orients above all to the struggle for the most efficient top performances in the development and introduction of new products and technologies to production. It achieves this by in good time and with mandatory effect drafting and presetting the respective concrete targets and tasks for all social spheres and all levels of our national economy, by rapidly spreading advanced scientific knowledge and the experiences of the best, making them the standard for the work of all, by socially coordinating the initiatives of combines, enterprises, LPG's and all working people and concentrating all the potentials of our national economy on the key issues of economic policy.

At the same time social interests are coordinated with collective and individual interests and made effective as strong motive forces for conscious democratic codetermination in all spheres of society.

Of course the sworn enemies of socialism ignore and denigrate all of this. Their furious attacks are directed at planning in order to slander the bases of our power, the leading role of the party and the socialist state. That is why the socialist planned economy is maligned as "undemocratic central administration" or as the "command economy." Yet no campaign of lies, however subtle, can get rid of the fact that only socialism and its planning are able to settle the problems of our age democratically, in the interest of the working people and with their conscious cooperation.

Indeed, the superiority of planning is due to the fact that the state plan is never just a collection of figures. Instead it is always a lever for democratic transformation to benefit the people, for the mobilization and cooperation of the working people to that effect. This represents the most profound meaning of the term "democracy" as the true rule of the people--vastly superior to any bourgeois simulation of democracy.

The democratic nature of central state planning is specially reflected in the following:

-- It is based on the directives and decisions of the party of the working class, which respond to the wishes and interests of the working people, and also on the constitution and legislative provisions of the workers and farmers state; these include, among others, the laws on the five-year plan and the annual economic plans.

-- The central state management and planning organs operate on democratic principles; they are guided by the decisions of the party and the People's Chamber, are supervised on this basis and obligated to incorporate the proposals and suggestions of the labor unions and other mass organizations in the plans.

-- On the basis of the party decisions and state regulations and targets, combines, enterprises, cooperatives, regions and institutions conduct their own responsible planning. The results of this planning represent one of the major bases of central state planning. The 1983 decisions on the further

perfection of management, planning and economic accounting, for example the use of the new indices of performance appraisal, provided a crucial contribution to this process.

#### Creative Activism Is a Special Feature

It is a special feature of the steady process of the evolution of socialist democracy in planning, that the creative activism of the working people is increasingly influencing central state planning and the planning of the economic units on their own responsibility, and is in turn mobilized by it.

"Work with us, plan with us, govern with us!," that is a constitutional right here and, at the same time, a civic and moral obligation for each individual citizen of the GDR.(4) Politically led by the SED, mass organizations--in particular the labor unions and the FDJ--organize and encourage this democratic cooperation in many and varied ways. Its visible expression is the growing social activism of workers, cooperative farmers, members of the socialist intelligentsia and all other citizens in the drafting and implementation of the plans as well as in their supervision. It is directed primarily to the rising efficiency and productivity of labor and the steady improvement of working and living conditions. It has become a need for the socialist owners of the means of production and is part and parcel of the direct exercise of their political power. It largely contributes to the development of socialist personalities and collectives. The SED Program describes the democratic involvement of the working people in management and planning as an "important precondition for the drafting and implementation of challenging and realistic plans."(5)

The socialist competition in honor of the 35th anniversary based on planning, the fulfillment and overfulfillment of obligations and the current pledges by the working people to fulfill the 1984 plan ahead of time and once again adopt challenging targets for the 1985 plan--they all confirm this anew.

The discussion of the 1985 plan draft is most intimately linked with the socialist competition for the fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment of the 1984 plan. This profoundly democratic action is based on a joint directive by the SED Central Committee, the GDR Council of Ministers and the FDGB Federal Executive Board as well as on the central state plan targets set the collectives. As in former years, millions of working people are directly involved.

Hundreds of thousands had their say in public and submitted their own constructive proposals how to even better respond to the rising demands. They traced additional reserves for the all-round fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment of qualitative indices in particular, to bring them to bear for comprehensive intensification.

It was specially remarkable that more proposals than ever were submitted how we may next year use new products and new technologies to achieve a faster rise in labor productivity, organize a new rationalization push, improve the

responsiveness of the economic units to changes in export needs and domestic demand and, at the same time, further improve working and living conditions.

The working people are more and more democratically involved in the drafting of processing or other long-range conceptions. The thorough preparation and conduct of enterprise conferences has proved to be very useful for this purpose.

Resolute political and state management has repeatedly proved its value as a vital mobilizing factor. The success of the plan discussion in the various collectives depended largely on the success achieved by the state managers in breaking down central state plan targets--in particular those concerning intensification--to the brigades and even individual jobs, and in detail explaining their political, economic and social implications. It also hinged on the preparation of the plan discussions by, for example, skilled analyses and, above all, performance comparisons. The best values discovered in the performance comparisons have become important bases for the overfulfillment of the state plan targets, the organization of progressive norms and working conditions. It is a reflection of socialist democracy and a principle of socialist management to extensively take into account the suggestions, proposals and objections of the working people and make them the basis of future plan objectives and enterprise collective contracts.

Particularly significant once more for the democratic activism of the working people in plan drafting were their personal and collective obligations in the shape of plan offers and creative plans for the improvement of labor productivity. The members of the Wilhelm Pieck Brigade in the NARVA VEB (Berlin Electric Bulb Plant), for example, on the basis of the reserves they had discovered, obligated themselves in the 1985 plan year to produce an additional 100,000 high-quality utility and decorative bulbs which are much in demand by the public and the export trade.

Due to the planning of our socialist national economy, the interests of the working class and all classes and strata of the people allied with it are far sightedly and comprehensively implemented in a democratic manner. The initiative of the entire people is mobilised for the realization of its interests.

Planning was and is one of the vital prerequisites for making our country one of the most efficient industrial states in the entire world, ensures that the material and cultural living standard of our people is internationally acknowledged to be high, that we enjoy full employment and have available a modern educational and health care system, flourishing science and culture, and that our defense at the required standard is at all times guaranteed.

Without planning the conscious rule of the people over social and natural processes, specially economic and social development and, therefore, genuine and real democracy, would be altogether impossible. As Friedrich Engels wrote, planning alone places the "compass of the living conditions surrounding man...under the rule and supervision of men who, for the first time, become conscious and real masters of nature because and while they become masters of

their own socialization."(6) At this time and in our country this is a social reality to be experienced by every individual.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, EINHEIT, No 9/10, 1984, p 771.
2. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an der X. Parteitag der SED" [SED CC Report to the Tenth SED Congress], Berlin 1981, p 80.
3. See Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," in Marx/Engels, Collected Works, Vol 4, p 481.
4. Constitution of the German Democratic Republic, Article 21.
5. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [SED Program], Berlin 1976.
6. Marx/Engels, Collected Works, Vol 20, p 264.

#### Democratic Mass Initiative in our Planned Economy

-- 278,913 work collectives with more than 4.9 million working peoples competing for the title "collective of socialist labor," are at the head of the socialist competition organized by the labor unions;

-- More than 2.8 million competitors operate with personal and collective plan offers;

-- 1.2 million innovators earned a roughly M3 billion profit in the first half 1984 alone;

-- More than 85 percent of all labor union members attended the 619,000 labor union membership meetings on the plan discussion and the draft of the 1985 economic plan;

-- 2.2 million working people spoke in the discussions and submitted 643,433 proposals for the plan draft;

-- 342,368 of these proposals were directed to the opening up of further reserves for the improvement of output;

-- 196,336 proposals served the improvement of working and living conditions, and

-- 91,751 proposals dealt with issues of our intellectual-cultural life.

11698

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BISHOP EXPRESSES SATISFACTION WITH CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 6 Dec 84 p 2

[Article by Bishop Dr A. Schoenherr: "State-Church Relations in the GDR Characterized by Respect"]

[Text] State-Church relations in the GDR are characterized by a process of increasing mutual respect and appreciation. This is the gist of a lengthy article in the WIENER ZEITUNG of Wednesday last by Bishop (retired) Dr Albrecht Schoenherr, former chairman of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR.

On the side of the Church, it was an important prerequisite for the new stage of relations that the fact of a second German state had always been taken seriously. The 6 March 1978 meeting between Council of State chairman Honecker and the executive of the Church Federation applied the seal of approval to this process. "The subject matter: Equality and equal respect for all citizens, within the framework of the churches' mission their cooperation in the organization of the future in a socialist society and commitment to the preservation of peace, to detente and understanding among the peoples."

Since then this decisive settlement of the state-Church relation has stood the test of time even in difficult situations. Despite a decline in numbers, similar to that experienced in West European industrial countries, the Protestant Church enjoys many opportunities in the GDR. Services proceed regularly everywhere, and so does work with the young, religious instruction and the training of ministers (at, among others, six state universities). The chairman of the Council of State emphasized the social commitment of Christians. "In fact the churches in the GDR are anxious to leave no doubt that the Christian faith leads directly to the struggle for peace and justice." The separation of Church and state is consistently practiced in the GDR. Of course this process does not lack tensions. But the Church wishes to be a Church in socialism, not apart from it or against it. For the sake of their common future, state and Church must cooperate as broadly as possible.

11698  
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EMIGRANTS TO FRG TESTIFY TO HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 8 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by W. Kahl: "Execution of Sentences in GDR Continues to be Intensified"]

[Text] A case typifying the human rights situation in the "GDR" and, at the same time, the unscrupulousness of the state security service was described during a 2-day hearing in Bonn in which victims of the regime testified. While the SED authorities permit a married couple that had fought for years to obtain the right to leave the country to emigrate and take along a severely handicapped child, the younger daughter, who is in good health, has to remain behind in the "GDR". The explanation: The parents, who had been sentenced to 6 years in prison because of their requests for permission to emigrate and because of the letters relating to their efforts that they had written to the International Human Rights Association in Frankfurt/Main, could not bring up their healthy child in the spirit of socialism.

After listening to the testimony of 25 former prisoners that had been found guilty of political crimes in the "GDR" and whose freedom was able to be purchased by the Federal Republic, the International Experts Commission in Bonn announced its conclusions in a communique. Among other things it says, "Even since the signing of the final act of Helsinki and since the international agreement about civil and political rights went into effect in 1976, the human rights situation of the Germans in the GDR has not improved."

The commission consisted of the Dane Feldstaed Andresen (Copenhagen), the Swiss Peter Hartmeier, the African pastor Bongani Musa (Zimbabwe) and the Swede Brita Norberg. The German representative was former state secretary in the Inner-German Ministry, Guenther Wetzel (Darmstadt).

The hearing revealed that criminal law for political offenses in the "GDR" was again revised in 1979 to provide for more severe penalties. Accordingly, "many people have been sentenced to prison terms of several years for 'offenses'—penalties not reconcilable with international law, especially the right of free movement and free expression."

Twenty-six year old Beate Hobusch, a hairdresser in Halle/Saale, related that she had been sentenced to 6 years and 7 months for "treasonable dissemination of news". Former state secretary Wetzel asked her, "What

exactly was the crime of which you were accused?" Beate Hobusch replied, "After unsuccessful applications for permission to emigrate, I described our plight in letters to the West. I had lost my job; my child was ill." Wetzel remarked, "Family problems were interpreted as espionage."

Since the Hobusch couple refused to cease applying for exit permits, the state security service attempted to play a psychological trick on the couple, both of whom were in Bonn. In separate interrogations security agents told each partner that the other was committing adultery. "This torture did actually come between us," said the wife. The spouses had a heart-to-heart talk which resulted in their reconciliation only after they continued, while still jailed, to insist on leaving the "GDR" and saw each other again for the first time in the state security service transit camp after the purchase of their freedom by the Federal Republic and before they shipped out.

The reports about prisons in the "GDR" further demonstrated, according to the commission, that the already severe execution of the sentences of political prisoners is assuming "inhuman features". The former prisoners described instances of confinement in dark cells, beatings, the chaining up of inmates, and calculated humiliations. The commission of experts declared itself especially shocked by the descriptions of reprisals conducted by "GDR" organs against the families of political prisoners.

9873

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RAILWAY LOADING OF ENGINEERING EQUIPMENT DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 6, 1984 (signed to press 13 Sep 84)  
pp 296-299

/Article by Lt Col G. Hoppe, engineer, and H. Wuensch, engineer: "Hints on Rail Loading of Engineering Equipment"/

/Text/ Rail transport of equipment and arms is done under combat and garrison conditions. This also applies to engineering equipment since as a rule it attains lower cruising speeds when moving on streets and roads than other equipment does. In particular the requirements for the most economical use of fuels and lubricants cause us to use the railroad to an increasing extent for single transporting of engineering equipment, primarily in connection with delivery of engineering equipment to and from repair work.

A number of special features of engineering equipment which restrict transportability and cruising speed on streets likewise impose special requirements on railroad transport. Thus, for railroad transport the dimensions, especially width and height, play an important role since the loading gauge (Fig 1) and the requirements imposed in cases when the loading gauge is exceeded must be observed without exception.

It is often thought that instances of exceeding the loading gauge are not present if the outlines of the equipment "fit" into the GDR railroad's loading gauge. If when moving the transport only straight routes were covered, then the equipment could be loaded to the full width of the loading gauge at 3,150 mm. However, when moving on curves in the track, the further the middle and ends of the railroad car are from the end axles or truck center pins, the loads are also projected correspondingly further beyond the original loading gauge position. When viewed this way, the often large length of engineering equipment additionally restricts the available loading width. Moreover, it must be noted that engineering equipment cannot be loaded precisely in the middle, but as a rule a 50-mm loading difference must also be guaranteed.

With many kinds of engineering equipment, of course, the GDR railroad's loading gauge can be observed, but to do so certain changes or additional work on the equipment are required. Moreover, special regulations on loading, securing and rail transport must be observed.

In order to accommodate all the requirements mentioned all the equipment in the NVA /National People's Army/ has been measured and evaluated by agencies of the GDR railroad and tested in respect to railroad loading. The results have been recorded in catalog K 041/3/001--arms and equipment exceeding the GDR railroad's loading gauge, the LUE /excess over loading gauge/-catalog--and have been given a loading gauge excess number (LUE-No), and the special regulations for loading were established.

In spite of the fact that the catalog is continually supplemented and revised it is necessary in individual cases, because of the wide variety of engineering equipment, to load equipment which has not yet been entered in the catalog. If that occurs, a sketch (a cross-sectional sketch) on a scale of 1:20 must be presented with the transport registration. The following data must be shown on the sketch:

- all projecting parts, their location and dimensions,
- the mass of the equipment,
- length data,
- validation of the sketch with date and signature.

In addition the manner in which the equipment is secured must be described; it must not permit any shifting or displacing of the loaded equipment.

In keeping with the military transport order every military transport of equipment that exceeds the loading gauge must be registered with the responsible transportation agency at least 7 days in advance of implementation. The transport chief is responsible for adhering to the loading regulations and the registered loading gauge excesses in terms of the LUE numbers and the sketches which were submitted when registering the transport.

#### 1. Loading and Unloading Engineering Equipment

The general provisions of the military transport regulation apply to the loading and unloading of engineering equipment on railroad cars. Special attention must be paid to the following provisions:

--The engineering equipment is to be driven onto the railroad cars in the lowest gear without stopping or making sharp turns.

--A guide must be assigned for every piece of engineering equipment for loading and unloading engineering equipment on railroad cars. He must position himself in such a way that he can observe the tracks or wheels of the equipment and at the same time can be seen by the driver. As a rule the guide is not on the same railroad car as the engineering equipment which he is to observe. The guide cannot move backwards in front of the engineering equipment.

--The engineering equipment is to be driven onto the railroad car via side ramps at an angle of about 30° to the loading track.

--When loading several tracked vehicles on a railroad car there must be a distance of at least 10 cm between the vehicles.



--When loading and unloading only the drive is permitted in the vehicle.

--Engineering equipment of the track-laying vehicle type may be towed onto railroad cars only in exceptional cases. Then special safety precautions must be taken. Inoperative equipment on track-laying vehicles may only be loaded and unloaded via end ramps.

Loading engineering equipment over the railroad car buffers (overloading) is permitted only in exceptional cases. The following engineering equipment must not be overloaded:

--Engineering equipment of track-laying vehicle type,

--Equipment which is loaded with ammunition, demolition material and detonating agents,

--Engineering equipment with working mechanisms that protrude in the longitudinal axis (for example, truck-mounted excavators),

--Engineering equipment on special wheeled chassis and

--Engineering equipment of more than 14 tons if it is to be loaded on flatcars, and of more than 20 tons if it is to be loaded on flatcars with turnable bogies.

## 2. Securing Engineering Equipment on Railroad Cars

Engineering equipment must be secured in such a way that it cannot shift either lengthwise or crosswise. Vehicle brakes must be set. Engineering equipment of the track-laying vehicle type must be in neutral gear and engineering equipment on wheeled chassis with gas-powered engines must be in first gear. All parts which can be turned or swiveled must be fixed or additionally tied down.

Engineering equipment on wheeled chassis up to 15 tons must be secured with four standard loading wedges; engineering equipment over 15 tons must have eight standard loading wedges. If no standard loading wedges are available or if they cannot be used because of the tire dimensions, then the equipment must be appropriately secured with traditional holding devices (wooden wedges, nails and tie wire). When overloading engineering equipment the wheels of the front axles must be secured only on the side with beams or wedges so that the front axle on the second railroad car remains movable. There must be 25-mm distance between beam or wedge and wheel and at least 20 cm between vehicles themselves.

The manner of loading engineering equipment of the track-laying vehicle type proceeds according to the description in the military transport regulation. Care must be taken that type A loading blocks are used for equipment over 20 tons and type B loading blocks are used for engineering equipment with narrow tracks (PTS-M amphibious vehicles, GSP 55 self-propelled ferry).

After securing the engineering equipment the working mechanisms must be lowered and secured with wedges or wire; this is also true of all parts which have been dismantled or removed from the engineering equipment. Then the front and side walls of the railroad car must be raised (if the load does not exceed the car width). Side walls which have not been do not need to be tied down.

The fastenings on the engineering equipment must not be loosened during rail transport. They cannot be removed until the transport has stopped at the unloading point and the order to unload has been given.

### 3. Special Factors in Loading Engineering Equipment

A number of additional jobs must be carried out with rather large numbers of engineering equipment in order to make it transportable by rail. These jobs are of substantial scope and take a great deal of time for the BAT-M road construction machine. Thus, for example, the push frame with dozer blade and runner and the balancing mechanism must be removed and according to the kind of car (Rlmp, for example) must be loaded on a separate car. Then the lateral guide roller of the tilting mechanism (to the left behind the driver's cab) plus the console must be removed from the support. The base vehicle may be loaded only 1 meter off center in the longitudinal direction.

With the DOK-M universal engineering machine and the SL 34 wheel loader special attention must be paid to exact center loading both lengthwise and crosswise on the car. Their brakes must be set and they must be secured with eight standard loading wedges. Then the shovel must be lowered to the car floor. In doing this care must be taken that the hydraulic unit does not lift the vehicle. The mirrors and the searchlights must be pivoted inward, and the rotary light must be pushed in or lowered.

With the MDK 2M pit excavating machine the dumper must be lowered toward the rear and the dozer blade lowered to the car floor, the deflector plate let down and secured. The two slope cutters must be pivoted inward and secured. Then the searchlights and the mirrors must be swung down.

With the BTM 3 trench ditching machine the rotor must likewise be lowered to the car floor. The two upper excavator shovels must also be dismantled, the mirrors and searchlights pivoted inward.

The E 305W truck-mounted excavator can be loaded on railroad cars both with drag shovel and face shovel. In both cases the upper part of the excavator cab must be removed; the mirrors and side bars on the base vehicle must be pivoted inward and secured. In the drag shovel situation the boom must be lowered toward the back not to exceed a height of 3,400 mm. To do this the excavator bucket is brought to the boom and after lowering the boom it is let down and secured on a wooden support on the car floor.

In the face shovel position the extended boom is lowered toward the back. For this the excavator bucket is moved toward the back to the boom and then after lowering the boom it must be put down and secured on a wooden support on the car floor.

In both cases the rope pulley support must be lowered onto the boom, the ropes of the excavator must be secured with wire, the turning gear locked and the exhaust end piece of the excavator engine removed.

The BLG 60M bridge-laying equipment may be loaded and unloaded at railroad stations with contact lines in the center between cross field towers outside the cross framework and never under the contact wire. After being collapsed (in compact position) the bridge must be lowered, depending on the type of car, fixed with beams and braced on the side and along the length of the car.

At present the BLG 60M2 bridge-laying equipment is delivered with a loading mechanism which permits substantially more efficient loading of the bridge. The loading mechanism consists of two like loading beams and a sounding cable. The bridge-laying equipment goes on the railroad car first on which the bridge is to be loaded, up to the height of the first axle. Then the sounding cable is secured to the sighting device and bridge-laying equipment and laid out in front of the vehicle in the middle of the car. The loading beams must be laid out at the height of the marks on the sounding cable so that there is equal distance on both sides to the outside edge of the car. Then the bridge-laying equipment is aligned in such a way that the sounding cable over the sighting device and the two white-colored markings on the loading beams form a line. The bridge must be lowered.

After separating the bridge-laying equipment from the bridge there is once again an opportunity to align the bridge crosswise to the car. For this a crowbar must be inserted into the recesses present in the loading beams and the bridge must be aligned with leverage. Finally, the bridge must be secured with clamps to the loading beam and depending on the type of car the bridge-laying equipment must be loaded on a separate or on the same car in the usual manner.

With this kind of loading it is sufficient to lower the bridge only one time and proper positioning can be achieved without difficulty. Traditionally up to five positions were required, and putting the bridge down in curves in the track was scarcely possible. Moreover, valuable loading material is saved.

The pontoons of the PMP pontoon group must basically be unloaded from the base vehicle and depending on the type of railroad car be loaded on the same car or a different one. They can be secured as follows:

First with wooden beams. In this case the pontoon rests on the butt ends on two beams (0.1 meter x 0.1 x 3.2 meter) and is braced with tie wire or chains with turnbuckles (original issue).

Second, with four PMP loading wedges with which at present all PMP pontoon groups in the NVA are equipped. The loading wedges have six spikes which press into the car planks and secure the pontoons. However, they can only be used in car types whose sides do not have any metal reinforcement or iron girders so that only Rlmmmp and Salmmp car types are suitable.

Third, with four newly-developed PMP loading blocks. One special feature is that a river pontoon has two different designs and a shore pontoon four different ones. Starting in 1984 all newly-manufactured pontoon groups have been equipped with these loading blocks. In the loading variations mentioned in every case the pontoon must be secured with a tensioning rope against independent separation.

The base vehicles of the PMP pontoon group must be loaded and secured in the usual way. As a special feature care must be taken that the camouflage mounts on the roofs of the driver's cabs must be completely emptied.

When transporting the RF 78 ramming ferry the pontoons must also be unloaded from the base vehicles and depending on the car type be secured on a separate car or on the same one behind the vehicle. It is no longer permitted to load the vehicles of the RF 78 with loaded pontoons on railroad cars as was the case with earlier types; such loading would unquestionably result in accidents.

Table 1 gives an overview of the possibilities for loading engineering equipment on railroad cars of the GDR railroad with the appropriate LUE numbers. Every piece of engineering equipment which exceeds the loading gauge must be given an identification mark and LUE number on the lower front corner of the left side wall. The color of the mark is white. This marking provides employees of the GDR railroad with clear identification of the equipment when accepting the train. Confusion with similar equipment can thus be eliminated and accidents avoided. Furthermore, because of the unit that has been loaded appropriate signs (600 mm x 400 mm, white background, 20 mm-wide blue edge) labelled "Attention! Load Gauge Excess" must be attached to both sides of the railroad car, with trains at the front and the end on both sides.

#### 4. Hints on Transporting

In collaboration with the GRD railroad the responsible military transportation agency decides over which routes military transport with loading gauge excess is moved. The troops and units have no influence on the train route. Equipment with loading gauge excess should be transported, if at all possible, in one train. This can avoid long transportation times (reduce possible necessary detours).

On electrified routes with contact line military transports with loading gauge excess which exceed the height of 4,650 mm above the upper edge of the rail (S0), must have a minimum distance of 150 mm (including 70 mm for operational irregularities in the contact line) when the contact line is switched on. If the contact line is switched off 70 mm are adequate.

The equipment on the railroad cars does not need to be grounded (linked by metal with the railroad car). However, that does not apply to tank vehicles and in international rail transport of equipment to Hungary and Romania. Here, in principle, grounding is required.

When traveling on electrified routes with contact line no persons may stay on the railroad cars if the load is more than 4,650 mm above the S0.

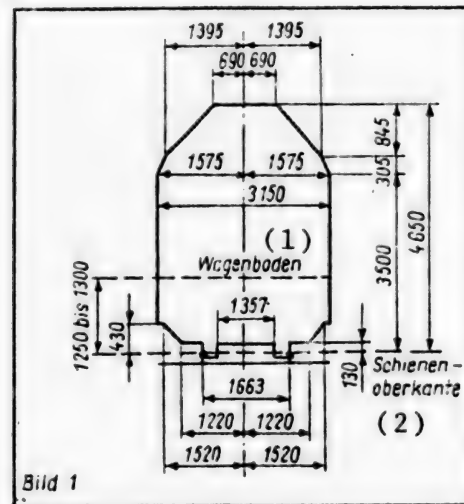


Figure 1. Loading Gauge of the GDR Railroad

Key:

1. Car floor
2. Upper edge of rail



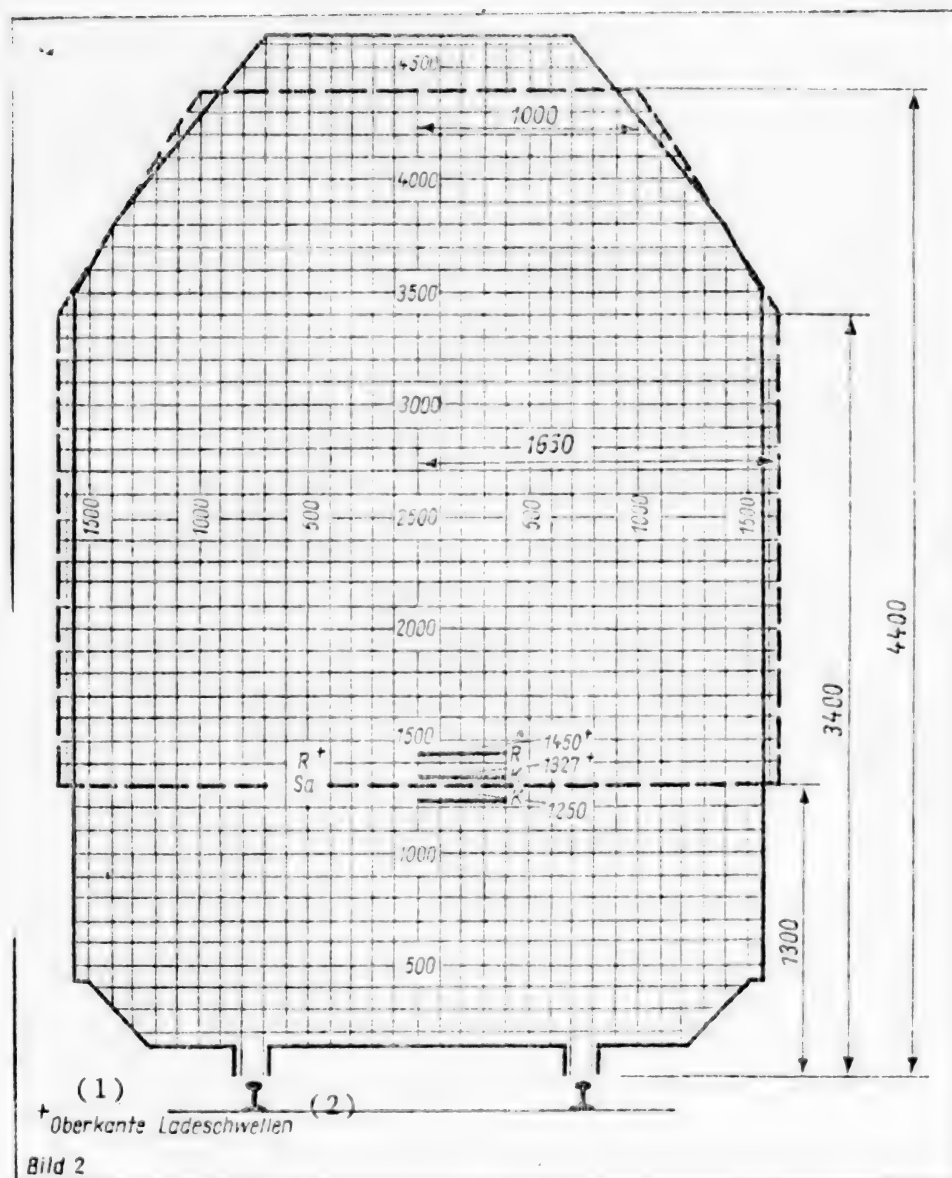


Figure 2. Sketch for registering engineering equipment which is not in the K 041/3/001 catalog

Key:

1. +Upper edge
2. Loading ties

Table 1. Possibilities for Loading Engineering Equipment on Railroad Cars

Designation	Number Loaded Per Car Type						LUE-No
	Klm	KS	Res	Rlmp	Samm	Salmmp	
Equipment which exceeds the loading gauge:							
Road-building machine BAT	-	-	-	(1)	1	(1)	101
Road-building machine BAT with push frame and balancing	-	.	-	(1)	1	(1)	102
Road-building machine BAT-M	-	--	-	(1)	1	-	103
Bulldozer D 492/A	1	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	106
Bulldozer T 130 with DZ 110A	1	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	107
Engineering maintenance and repair equipment (PiWIE) on Ural 375 (K)	1	(1)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)	108
Wheel loader SL 34	-	-	-	1	(1)	(1)	109
Universal engineering machine DOK-M	-	-	-	1	(1)	(1)	110
Trench ditching machine BTM	-	-	-	(1)	1	(1)	111
Trench excavating machine MDK 2M	-	-	-	(1)	1	(1)	112
Truck-mounted excavator E 305W on KrAZ 255B (drag and face shovels)	-	1	(1)	-	1	(1)	114
Trench ditching machine BTM 3	-	-	-	-	1	(1)	116
Bridge-laying equipment BLG 60M without bridge	-	-	-	1	2	(1)	126
Bridge of the BLG 60M	-	-	(1)	-	1	(1)	127
Bridge of the BGL 60M2	-	-	(1)	-	1	(1)	128
TMM 3 on KrAZ 255B	-	-	-	1	(1)	(1)	131

Designation	Number Loaded Per Car Type						LUe-No
	Klm	KS	Res	Rlmp	Samm	Salmmp	
Amphibious vehicle PTS-M	-	-	-	(1)	(1)	1	153
Self-propelled ferry GSP 55	-	-	-	-	1	-	151
Base vehicle KrAZ 255B for PMP	1	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	155
Pontoon PMP. shore section (without vehicle) and Pontoon PMP, river section (without vehicle)	1	-	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	156
Mat vehicle "VOZOVKY" on Tatra 813 with tarpaulin frame	-	-	-	(1)	1	(1)	160
Metal mat PMP on KrAZ 255B	(1)	-	-	1	(1)	(1)	161
Drivable ram USM 1 on KrAZ 255B1	1	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	164
T 55 with cutter section of the KMT 5 (KMT 4)	-	-	-	1	1	(1)	210
T 55 with KMT 6	-	-	-	(1)	1	(1)	211
T 55 with BTU 55	-	-	-	(1)	1	(1)	212
Equipment without loading gauge excess with special regulations for loading and securing:							
Base vehicle KrAZ 255B for BMK-T	-	(1)	-	(1)	(1)	(1)	0-100
Tugboat BMK-T	-	-	-	1	-	(1)	0-101
Ram ferry RF 78 on Ural 375D (6-m pontoon and 2 3-m pontoons)	1	-	(1)	(1)	1	(1)	0-102
WFS 3M container	1	2	(3)	(1)	(2)	(1)	0-103
Autograder SHM 4	1	1	(1)	(1)	(1)	-	0-104

Key:

Number	Number of pieces of equipment to be loaded per railroad car
1	In line with its technical parameters and the available fleet the freight car is most suited, however, only single loading possible
2	Like 1, however double loading possible
(1)	Freight car is suitable, however, only single loading possible
(2)	Like (1), however double loading possible
(3)	Like (1), however triple loading possible
--	Freight car is not suitable for loading and may be used only by special agreement of the GDR railroad

12124

CSO: 2300/190

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MORE ON NEW RADIO LINK SYSTEM

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 6, 1984 (signed to press 13 Sep 84) pp 302-303

[Article by Col Dr W. Hanisch and Dr. H.-Kl. Neske, engineers: "Radio Link System FM 24-400--Concept and Hints on its Use;" Part II. Part I was published in the JPRS ESP-85-002 of 3 Jan 85]

/Text/ 2.2. Path Attenuation

As shown in Figure 7, the attenuation of the outer RF [radio-frequency] transmission channel of a relay link section, called in [5] (see No 5/84) the path attenuation  $a_S$  (in the documentation for FM 24-400 called the transmission loss), consists of

- Transmission loss  $a_F$  (in the documentation for FM 24-400 the free-space attenuation),
- Obstacle attenuation  $a_H$ ,
- Fading attenuation  $a_{Schw}$ ,
- Cable attenuation  $a_K = a_{KS} + a_{KE}$  of the sending and receiving side, and
- Antenna gain  $G = G_S + G_E$  of the sending and receiving side, relative to an isotropic radiator.

$$a_S = a_F + a_H + a_{Schw} + a_K - G, \quad (1)$$

where all attenuation values must be expressed in dB.

The reference equivalent of the outer RF transmission channel for all technical characteristics of the FM 24-400 assumes 100 m of cable in the relay link section. It amounts to

$$a_S = 105 \text{ dB.}$$

With this reference equivalent, the useful-signal input level amounts to - 68 dBm.



### 2.2.1. Transmission Loss

The transmission loss  $a_F$  is the attenuation over the relay-link length  $r$  for a wave propagation of the wavelength  $\lambda$  or the frequency  $f$  in free space, when isotropic radiators are assumed as antennas. In practice this means a first Fresnel zone free of obstacles between the radiators.

$$a_F = (4\pi r/\lambda)^2 \quad \text{or} \quad (2)$$

$$a_F/\text{dB} = 32.44 + 20 \lg r/\text{km} + 20 \lg f/\text{MHz} \quad (3)$$

The transmission loss increases with the square of the frequency. From the lower to the upper limit of the RF band of the FM 24-400 it increases by 3.3 dB. In keeping with [5], it can be determined by means of a nomogram.

The reference equivalent of the outer RF transmission channel of the FM 24-400 entails a standard relay-link length of 56 km. But the spannable distance is determined chiefly by the practical propagation conditions (accounted for by the obstacle and fading attenuations) and the permissible signal/noise ratio. Therefore the standard relay-link length may be viewed only as a guidance magnitude.

### 2.2.2. Obstacle Attenuation

The obstacle attenuation  $a_H$  takes into account the type and magnitude of the obstacles in the first Fresnel zone, characterized by their distance from the quasi-optical (radio) line-of-sight contact. The latter is determined by the curvature of the earth and the refraction of the electromagnetic waves in the lower atmosphere. With a roughly level terrain, the quasi-optical line-of-sight contact grazes the surface of the earth when both antennas are of the same height  $h_{Ao}$ .

$$h_{Ao}/\text{m} = \frac{(r/\text{km})^2}{68} \quad (4)$$

For  $r = 50$  km,  $h_{Ao}$  amounts to 36.8 m.

The semiminor axis of the first Fresnel zone is obtained from

$$b/\text{m} = 272 \sqrt{\frac{r/\text{km}}{f/\text{MHz}}} \quad (5)$$

The width of the first Fresnel zone drops in proportion to  $1/\sqrt{f}$ . At the lower limit of the RF band of FM 24-400,  $b = 107.5$  m. Thus under these conditions the first Fresnel zone is free of obstacles only at equal antenna heights of about 144 m. From this it follows: For practical radio links in the 400 MHz range, obstacles in the first Fresnel zone must always be expected.

The distance  $h_H$  of the obstacle or the effective distance of several obstacles from the quasi-optical line-of-sight contact is determined for practical radio links from the path intersection point [5].

$$h_H = h_A - h_{Ao} \quad (6)$$

where  $h_A$  are the antenna heights (same on the sending and receiving sides), and  $h_{Ao}$  are the antenna heights for a grazing quasi-optical line-of-sight contact.

For ascertaining the obstacle attenuation corresponding to the obstacle distance to be determined, in [5] diffraction at a sharp edge is taken as a basis. More recent investigations of this problem provide more detailed information.

The obstacle attenuation is also frequency-dependent. For the 400-MHz range, in [9] the group of curves shown in Figure 8 for obstacle attenuation as a function of the relay-link length  $r$  is given with the obstacle distance  $h_H$  as a parameter. According to this, with a grazing quasi-optical line-of-sight contact ( $h_H = 0$ ), the obstacle attenuation  $a_H = 19$  dB for  $r = 50$  km at  $f = 400$  MHz. At the lower limit of the RF band of FM 24-400, it is about 1 dB higher, and at the upper limit about 1 dB lower. The obstacle attenuation is zero at an obstacle distance of roughly 50 percent of the semiminor axis of the first Fresnel zone--that is, for antenna heights of about 90 m for both antennas of the FM 24-400.

The reference equivalent of the outer RF transmission channel of the FM 24-400 includes an obstacle attenuation of 6 dB. For relay-link lengths of around 50 km, this corresponds to an obstacle distance of  $h_H \approx b/3$ --that is, to antenna heights for both antennas of about 70 m.

In the case of unequal antenna heights, according to [9] the obstacle attenuation is even larger than for the same antenna heights. It increases more the further the point closest to the earth is displaced away from the midpoint of the path. This has an especially strong effect at  $h_H \leq 0$ , as is illustrated in Figure 9.

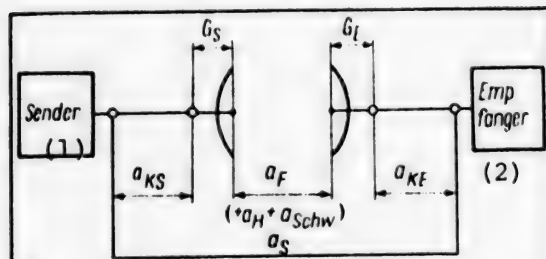


Bild 7

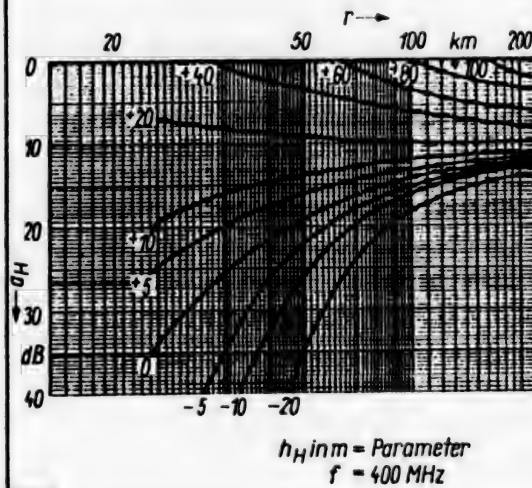


Bild 8

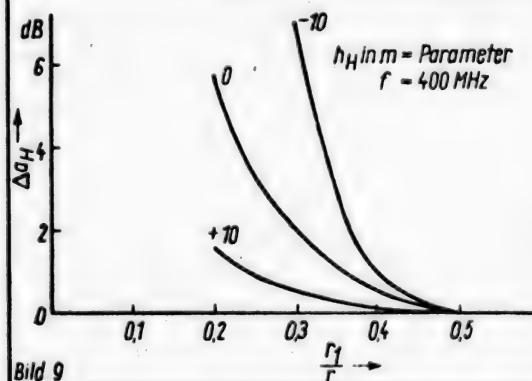


Bild 9

Figure 7. Outer RF Transmission Channel of a Relay Link Section

Key: 1. Transmitter  
2. Receiver

[captions for Figures 8 and 9 on following page]

Figure 8. Obstacle attenuation  $a_H$  for propagation over roughly level terrain as a function of the relay-link length  $r$  for equal antenna heights, supplementary to the attenuation in free propagation according to [9], figure appendix 3. The obstacle distance  $h_H$  to the quasi-optical line-of-sight contact is used as the parameter.

Figure 9. Increase in the obstacle attenuation due to unequal antenna heights compared to the obstacle attenuation for equal antenna heights according to [9], figure appendix 4.

### 2.2.3. Fading Attenuation

Between the fading attenuation  $a_{Schw}$  and the relay-link length there is a non-linear relationship. But for relay-link lengths around 50 km, this relationship can be approximated by a linear one and a constant fading attenuation per kilometer can be assumed.

For the constant fading attenuation per kilometer of relay link sections with a quasi-optical line of sight, in the 400-MHz range the following reference values apply as a function of the terrain properties:

- for moderately broken terrain, 0.2 dB/km,
- for watery terrain and terrain with large differences in elevation, 0.3 dB/km.

The reference equivalent of the outer RF transmission channel of the FM 24-400 does not take into account any fading attenuation.

With these data on the transmission loss, obstacle attenuation, and fading attenuation, the path attenuation for each separate case can be determined, in connection with which the information in 2.1. on the antenna gain and on the cable attenuation is to be taken into account. The path attenuations so calculated must lie in the range of 92 dB to 132 dB. Then by fully utilizing the control range of the receiver of + 13 dB to - 27 dB relative to the reference equivalent of 105 dB, overshooting can be avoided and at the same time a signal/noise ratio greater than 30 dB can be achieved in the poorest LF [low or audio frequency] channel.

### 2.3. LF Signal-to-interference Ratio

The LF signal-to-interference ratio  $a_{st}$  in the LF channel (in the documentation for FM 24-400 the signal/noise ratio) is an objective quality characteristic of the radio relay.

With path attenuations below the reference equivalent of the outer RF transmission channel, the LF signal-to-interference ratio is determined essentially by the attenuation-independent background noise. It is here that it has its maximum value, which lies between 60 and 65 dB for the various operational versions of the FM 24-400.

For path attenuations between the reference equivalent and the maximum path attenuation given by the upper limit of the control range, the LF signal-to-interference ratio is dependent on the attenuation. It decreases with increasing path attenuation.

$$a_{St}/dB = S - a_S \quad (7)$$

The system value  $S$  includes only those parameters peculiar to the system. This value is given in Table 1 for the different operational versions of the FM 24-400 (see insert in No. 5/84). Typical patterns of variation of the LF noise-to-attenuation ratio as a function of the path attenuation for the different operational versions are shown in Figure 10.

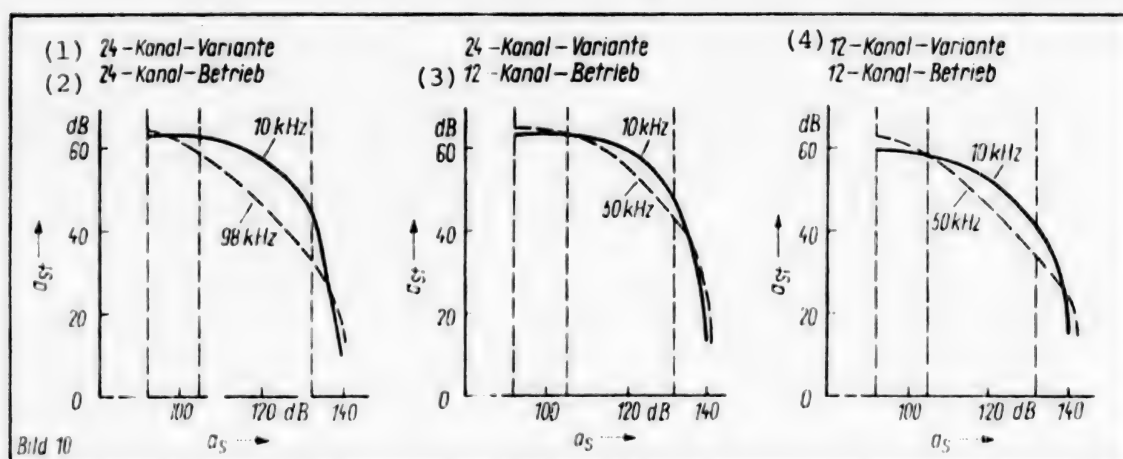


Figure 10. Typical patterns for the LF signal-to-interference ratio  $a_{St}$  as a function of the path attenuation for various operational versions of the FM 24-400.

Key: 1. 24-channel version  
2. 24-channel operation  
3. 12-channel operation  
4. 12-channel version

If the radio relay consists of several relay link sections, then the total LF signal-to-interference ratio can be determined from the LF signal-to-interference ratios of the relay link sections involved. To that end, it is necessary to determine the interference powers of the separate relay link sections relative to the power  $P_0$  from the corresponding signal-to-interference ratios. These are to be added together, and from the sum the resulting total signal-to-interference ratio is to be determined.

$$a_{St}/dB = -10 \lg P_{St}/P_0 \quad (8)$$



With  $P_0 = 1$  mW, for the interference power pertaining to a given signal-to-interference ratio the result is

$$P_{St}/pW = 10^{9 - \frac{a_{St}}{10}} \quad (9)$$

The total interference power of an LF channel for radio relays with  $i$  relay link sections amounts to

$$P_{St_{ges}} = \sum_i P_{St_i} \quad (10)$$

With that, the total LF signal-to-interference ratio in an LF channel at the termination of a radio relay is obtained from

$$a_{St_{ges}}/dB = 90 - 10 \lg (P_{St_{ges}}/pW) \quad (11)$$

It is useful to do the conversion from signal-to-interference ratios into interference powers and vice-versa with the help of a nomogram [5].

The total LF signal-to-interference ratio is always smaller than the LF signal-to-interference ratio of the poorest relay link section.

#### 2.4. Minimum Frequency Separations of the RF Channels

In order to avoid interferences within one's own or between neighboring radio link systems, the sending and receiving frequencies of radio link systems of an operating entity must have certain minimum frequency separations from one another. These are determined by the selectivity properties of the radio link system in conjunction with the radiation properties of the corresponding antennas.

If the conditions are adhered to which are listed in 2.1. for the geometric minimum distances between neighboring antennas and for the selection of the installation site of the antennas, this gives rise to the following minimum frequency separations:

The minimum frequency separation between sending and receiving frequency within a radio link system FM 24-400 amounts to 20 MHz. To protect the receiver against overloading by its own transmitter, the transmitter is automatically disconnected when this limit is reached in the course of tuning operations.

The minimum frequency separations between sending and receiving frequencies and between two receiving frequencies of neighboring radio link systems FM 24-400 of an operating entity are affected also by the polarization and the

directional pattern of the corresponding antennas. The needed minimum separations follow from Table 5 (insert to No. 5/84).

In this connection, useful signal-receiving levels of - 68 dBm are always presupposed--that is, reference equivalents of 105 dB for the corresponding relay link sections and transmitting levels of + 37 dBm corresponding to a value of 5 W at 50 ohms.

The preceding remarks dealt with a series of specific points the knowledge of which is important for the planning of radio relays with the radio link system FM 24-400. But what has been expounded here, especially on the additional attenuation due to obstacles, is also applicable to the planning of radio relays with other radio link systems, with this being directly applicable in the 400 MHz range and *mutatis mutandis* in other frequency ranges, in which cases it is essential to make use of the indicated sources.

12114

CSO: 2300/218

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MISUSE OF ELECTRONICS TECHNOLOGY THREAT TO PEACE

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 6 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by M. Schulze: "It's not the Chips Which Endanger Peace"]

[Text] A study paper by the bourgeois "Club of Rome" on the automated battlefield, the installation of intelligent weapons in the shape of the computer equipped Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe and the expansion of the technical base for ideological warfare were a few of the many examples of the misuse of microelectronics cited at the Fifth Peace Symposium of Leipzig scholars, this time organized by the Technical College.

As fascinating as the operation of tiny chips in a pocket calculator of office computer, as horrible are their results when they control more and more destructive weapons after their integration by NATO in all types of arms. This initiated a tremendous innovation push and fired up the arms race even more. The introduction of computers in tanks, rockets, aircraft and command centers most certainly did not diminish the threat of war, indeed that threat has definitely increased. The scientists offered various reasons: Electronic homing devices make it possible to achieve accuracy of fire within a few meters across distances amounting to 1,000 or more kilometers. This raises the combat value of traditional weapons to that of nuclear charges and is therefore at the forefront of NATO's "decapitation strategy."

A first strike, protected by electronic interference maneuvers and guided by navigation satellites, is to neutralize the USSR strategic forces. This urgently requires our own strength so that the dream of successful decapitation and, therefore, a winnable nuclear war should not mean the end of mankind.

The other threat, to be confronted just as resolutely, is represented by the unreliability of the software, the program equipment. Some collapses of the Pentagon command computer have already become public knowledge. They ranged to the alarm being given the strategic nuclear forces. What will happen, though, if one of these days a fifth generation computer takes command? These super machines, already in the development stage, will be able to arrive at their own conclusions and decisions. As they have neither scruples nor fear of self-destruction, they may blow up the world in case of a programming

mistake. Incidentally, it took no more than the lack of a comma in the program of the onboard computer to cause the accident to Apollo 13.

Neither fear nor resignation are of any help. Our only hope is finally to block the arms modernizers--before it is too late. Everyone of us is responsible for doing that, specially on the job.

This peace symposium aroused the dominant impression that our scientists are fully aware of their responsibility. The computer experts came right to the front and showed thereby that it is not microelectronics as such, which lead us to perdition, it is their misanthropic use by a social system. The oft repeated compelling need to engage in even more intensive research in this field and produce factory floor solutions always represents action for peace in socialism, because microelectronics will most surely help decide the outcome of the battle for peace.

11698

CSO: 2300/200

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT TRAINING STRESSED AT OFFICER COLLEGES

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 46, 1984 (signed to press 12 Nov 84) p 3

[Report by Lt Col Heinz Rabe on the Scientific-Methodological Conference of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army, under the direction of the Deputy Minister for National Defense and Chief, Political Main Administration of the NVA, Col Gen Heinz Kessler: "Successful Military Operation Requires Constant Proving as Communist; Constructive Exchange of Experiences on Greater Effectiveness of Communist Education at the Military Institutions of Higher Learning; What Is at Stake Is to Implement the Scientific and Educational Policy of the Party With the Greatest Possible Use for the Armed Forces; We Are Educating Officer Personalities Who Always Stand Loyal by the Party"]

[Text] On 8 and 9 November a scientific-methodological conference of the NVA PHV (Political Main Administration) took place at the "Wilhelm Pieck" Military-political College under the direction of Col Gen Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the NVA PHV. The topic was: "For greater effectiveness of the communist education, especially of social-science training, at the military college institutions."

A constructive exchange of experiences on this topic was conducted by responsible generals, admirals and officers of the NVA, of the GDR Border Troops and of Civil Defense, commanders of the military college institutions, directors of the political departments, professors, teachers and graduates. Other participants were the NVA Main Inspector, Lt Gen Heinz Handke, staff members of the SED Central Committee, of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs as well as members of the PHV secretariat. Erich Honecker's words were the slogan of the conference: "Successful action in military affairs requires always proving oneself as a communist."

PHV Deputy Chief Lt Gen Ernst Hampf summed up the intensive and constructive conference. According to his assessment, the scientific-methodological conference met its goals. It was brought out there that our colleges are becoming a worthy part in the common struggle for high combat effectiveness and readiness. The conference heightened our conviction that we possess all prerequisites to tackle with optimism and confidence the new tasks for the strengthening of the socialist state power, for the further shaping of the leading role of the party. This is part of the task of implementing the party's science and college policy with the greatest possible benefit to the armed forces. Guided by the 18 March 1980 decision of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee on the tasks of the



universities and colleges in the developed socialist society, an important path was traveled to fulfill the main task posed by the minister for national defense at the military college conference. As is well known, this task consists in assuring under all conditions the all-around preparation of the cadres for the leadership of the troops and staffs in education, training and advanced training and by research.

#### Task of Strategic Rank

Avowal and loyalty to the communist ideals must determine thinking and action of the officer.

In his lecture, Lieutenant General Hampf called communist education at military institutions of higher learning a task of strategic rank for high combat effectiveness and readiness. As a result, our schools provide vital contributions in advance for the forces, considerably determine even today the face of the army of tomorrow.

Since all military duties and tasks first of all embody an ideological demand, undisputed maximum importance is attached to ideological work, imparting and acquisition of Marxism-Leninism as guidance for daily action. Just as ideological work forms the heart of party work, it also constitutes the core of communist education; the latter, as we know, not as a matter of individual specialists but as the cause of the entire party, of all those who share responsibility at teaching institutions.

The creative discussion confirmed the guidance provided in the lecture to exhaust all potentials for greater effectiveness of communist education at the institutions of higher learning. We possess all conditions for that.

The lecture provided an optimistic balance sheet on the successful development of the military institutions of higher learning which have proved themselves true creators of cadres of class conscious and militarily competent officers. In the military field and beyond that the schools enjoy a high reputation for their good work. The share of good to excellent overall grades in the main examinations makes it evident that at the institutions of higher learning, too, the 35th anniversary of our GDR could be made into the most successful thus far.

#### Executor of the Working Class

What is the goal by which we are especially guided? In this connection, the lecturer emphasized: What is important is to train and educate officers of a type that can successfully meet the growing demands on combat effectiveness and readiness. In essence, what is involved is to shape officer personalities on the basis of Marxism-Leninism who as communists and military specialists are always loyal to the party and actively implement its policy and who act as executors of the working class side by side with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies aware of their responsibility for safeguarding peace and socialism.

What is involved are officer personalities who exert all their efforts to master the demands of modern military affairs with expert knowledge and consistently.

We educate cadres who possess high fighting morale and great military mastery, who stand the test in troop service and who resolutely hold their own in combat even under the highest physical and psychological stresses.

Political partisanship and revolutionary fighting spirit of our officers are firmly anchored in socialist historical awareness. Only those who deeply and vividly identify with the path of the GDR, our socialist fatherland, rich on struggles, sacrifices, efforts and victories, with the history of the Marxist-Leninist party and with our entire people will always honorably fulfill the oath of allegiance and the officer's pledge.

#### In the Center, the Position of Ideological Struggle

However varied and rich the personality may be that is to be developed--its position of ideological struggle is in the center. Particularly under the conditions of the intensified dispute with imperialism, especially our cadres are confronted every day with the necessity to provide correct class answers to the vital questions of the meaning of being a soldier, "For whom? With Whom? Against Whom?".

This requires first of all deep understanding for the revolutionary character of our social development, unshakeable belief in the justice and triumph of our cause. Only the knowledge of dialectical and historical materialism, of the political economy, of scientific communism in conjunction with the basic doctrines of the history of the workers movement enables our cadres to approach the dialectic of the social development, the strategy and tactics of the party always from the scientific positions of Marxism-Leninism as a whole. In the interaction of "studying" and "being put to the test" does the revolutionary attitude toward the fulfillment of the class mission mature, do the cadres acquire theoretical and methodological qualifications to master military affairs.

Socialism now constitutes an insuperable power. As Comrade Honecker said on 21 June 1984 during his visit to the ground forces, the community of the fraternal countries is now able to "solve simultaneously two tasks of strategic importance...to develop the advantages of socialism for the benefit of the people and to guarantee their security."

#### In Comradeship With the USSR

Strong socialist armed forces that reliably protect peace and socialism are needed for this purpose. The socialist officer supports from fullest conviction the peace strategy of socialism which provides the answer to the most important questions moving mankind. Therefore he makes his contribution to maintaining the military-strategic balance, one of the most important achievements of real socialism, as an essential prerequisite for safeguarding peace. He does not give a chance to the imperialist striving for military superiority. And he acts according to the realization that the United States and NATO are solely responsible for the situation most dangerous to peace since World War II.

The 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and of the liberation of the German people from fascism and the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Warsaw Pact shaped numerous statements in lecture and discussion. Unanimously it was stressed: It is and remains a basic concern of the education of our cadres to deepen their conviction of the world historical role of the Soviet Union as the principal bastion of socialism and communism, of the unshakeable class and military alliance of the socialist armies. The strength of real socialism is based in the first place on the strength of the USSR.

#### Challenge to the Communists

In the lecture Lieutenant General Hampf devoted great attention to training as the most important field of communist education. It remains a priority task, it was emphasized, to develop and use more comprehensively the educational possibilities of content and form of the training. And this applies equally to all fields, to social-science, military, military-technical and foreign language training just as much as to fundamental mathematical-natural science and engineering training.

Communist education and self-study is deeply influenced by the intellectual-cultural life pulsating at the colleges in its entire breadth characterized by the cultural conference. It comprises the demanding cultural esthetic training, a rich assortment of events and a barracks environment full of culture. There is an increasing need for the pursuit of art and literature and the readiness to actively participate in the shaping of an interesting intellectual-cultural life--as it takes place today at the college, tomorrow it will be in the field forces and in the fleet.

It was expressly pointed out at the conference that communist education constitutes a great challenge for the communists. It decisively depends on the fighting strength of the party organizations how revolutionary spirit and political maturity, critical and self-critical attitude toward the fulfillment of the decisions are encouraged in the collectives. Resourceful party work at the same time is the irreplaceable school of effective party education, the indispensable prerequisite for the personality development of the cadres.

Firmly arrayed around the party organizations and as a tested fighting reserve, the FDJ has a great responsibility in the educational process. For this reason, in the future, too, the FDJ managements and activists should be directly assisted in performing political-ideological work suitable for the youth during the entire study time and during periods of leisure and in developing always anew such valuable forms as debate competitions, club talks, circles, and sponsorship relations with high standards and in an attractive manner.

#### Leadership Is No. 1 Task

The lecture was followed by an extensive discussion carried on at a high theoretical level in the plenum and in the working circles. The rich experiences presented there by military college cadres, by professors, lecturers and holders of the doctor's degree significantly contributed to guaranteeing a successful course of the conference.

Overall the conference contributed to implementing the tasks posed by Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and Minister for National Defense, at the military college conference.

Lieutenant General Hampf summarized the common positions as follows:

Firstly: Communist education demands proving convincingly and in an exemplary manner in the entire life at the school that leadership is the most important thing for which our cadres prepare themselves. What is involved here is the No. 1 task in the political and military leadership activity and that is at the very top of the fighting programs of the party and FDJ organizations.

Secondly: To conduct communist education in a complex manner--as a unity of ideological, political, military, moral, esthetic, legal and physical education--this task must be fulfilled anew every day. This requires further knowledge and experience on the complexity of goal, content, forces, forms, methods and also time. We ought to apply in practice more boldly and more consistently the ideas of the 13th Delegate Conference on the complexity of the ideological work.

Thirdly: Communist education is closely linked with the development of the socialist way of living. Especially truly socialist relations among all members of the colleges are prerequisite as well as a result of this educational process. In this connection, special attention is directed at the relationship between teachers and students.

#### Process of Study--Main Field of Communist Education

Fourthly: At colleges the study process is the main field of communist education. To educate consciously and for a specific purpose therefore is just as characteristic of it as imparting and acquiring knowledge and developing capabilities and skills.

In this connection fundamental importance is attached under all conditions to the study of Marxism-Leninism and the party decisions, to a high level of ideological-theoretical life in general. This concerns especially social-science training in which the systematic teaching of our scientific ideology in the unity of its components must be inseparably linked with thoroughly studying and comprehensively disseminating the decisions of the party.

With all that, a communist personality must be educated who as an officer must always be able to fulfill the orders and instructions with initiative and discipline and who can make a great contribution to increasing the combat effectiveness and readiness by creative thinking and consistent military conduct.

12356  
CSO: 2300/217

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

UNCONDITIONAL OBEDIENCE FOR ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL URGED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 47, 1984 (signed to press 19 Nov 84) p 3

[Article by Maj Rainer Liehmann: "Discipline--Mother of Victory; an Old Soldiers' Truth Proves to be a Decisive Factor of Combat Strength and Combat Readiness; the New Military-Political Situation and the Development of Military Science Place Great Demands on Discipline; Solidification of Discipline is Foremost a Demand of Political-Ideological Work"]

[Text] As the old soldiers' saying goes, "Discipline is the mother of victory. In practice this has proven true, especially in our experiences from the Great Fatherland Battle of the Soviet Union. But it is not only in battle that discipline is important.

Bearing in mind imperialism's attempt that has been the most dangerous and the most massive to date to halt the forward strides of socialism and the course of the national and social liberation in the world, soldiers of socialism are required to respond offensively to new tendencies in the class struggle, to vigilantly meet the dangerous imperialist attempts and be ready to fight them. These words were uttered by the minister for national defense, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, at the Commanders' Meeting to Evaluate the 1983/84 Training Year.

This task for the socialist armed forces is at the same time a challenge to a higher military discipline that takes on a special value under the conditions of an approaching military strategic balance.

Requirements of Discipline

Alert military discipline is one of those virtues that are appropriate to a socialist army and that imperialism is unable to counter with anything comparable. This discipline is only possible in socialist armed forces because the class interests of the superiors correspond with those of the troops. As a military virtue, this discipline characterizes the socialist soldiers.

Its nature springs from the free and conscious, unconditional, active and initiative charged execution of order measured by its responsibility to the society as a whole and the maintenance of the norms of the military service. These are firmly established in the oath of allegiance, in the laws, the regulations and other military provisions.



Discipline is borne by solid political convictions, especially by understanding the meaning of a soldier's life. Through their alert military discipline, those members of the socialist armed forces express how deeply convinced they are of the superiority of socialism, of its worthiness to be defended, and of its power to offer peace. They are able to develop those essential characteristics that make up a socialist soldier, i.e., unconditional obedience, conscious subordination, exact execution of order, reliability, conscientiousness, only because they possess unwavering optimism and the knowledge that they are responsible for the most legitimate issue. They know that their superiors' order represents the will of the working class and it thereby serves their most innate interests.

Alert military discipline or in Lenin's words, the "subordination of the will of the thousands to the will of one" arises from the perception that one must be ready literally every minute and in every situation and be able to enter immediately into the battle and carry out combat assignments.

Firming up military discipline places, first of all, high demands on political ideologic work. As the XIII SED Delegates Conference established, there is no other way to master new tasks than through the comprehensive development of the socialist class consciousness. As we deepen this consciousness, so will we firm up military discipline.

Military mastery plays an important role. Today a soldier cannot execute any order with initiative if that soldier has not mastered his area of specialty and is not familiar with fundamental military knowledge. As a rule, a general order or a command forms the basis of all soldiers' actions. Within the framework of his function and that of the task, he must, however, respond independently. He must interpret goals, must fight the opponent on his own. He exercises functions of control and surveillance. The soldier must always be willing and able independently to fully exhaust all technical and tactical possibilities of the combat technique that have been entrusted to him.

Beyond this, alert military discipline is the only avenue to achieve that absolute reciprocal reliability that the collective operation of modern combat tools demands, that is, coordinated action in combat field. As experience tells us, the more complicated the combat technique, the higher the demands for perceptive action and strict discipline. And effective training is likewise unthinkable without such traits as discipline, responsibility, as well as the readiness and the ability to carry out orders from the superior in the best manner.

#### Discipline Into Combat Strength

One cannot only and at first gauge alert military discipline by outward appearances. More and more the manner in which a soldier carries out his duty is a factor. The XII SED Delegates Conference already established, "However manifold the differentiated the training for alert military discipline may be, everything must finally flow into a class relative

correct attitude towards orders and this to the same degree by those giving orders as well as those carrying them out. A command is law. In this adamant principle lies a corresponding guarantee of higher combat strength and combat readiness."

Alert military discipline therefore requires a high degree of organization of the total military life. The minister for defense of the USSR, Marshal Ustinov of the Soviet Union, gave the basis of this necessity in the following words, "A high degree of organization and rigid order which corresponds to the military regulations grant the troops and naval forces the ability to act quickly, precisely, and as one in every situation. They form the bases for the timely, consistent and precise realization of the training plans and programs and for the maximum effectiveness of every classroom and training hour. At the same time separate instances of disorganization themselves can lead to serious disturbances in the combat and political training. The firmer the discipline in a unit, a section or on a ship is, the greater the effectiveness and quality of the training and education processes. Naturally there is also the reverse relationship. The better the training and education of the member of the army is organized, the greater is its influence on firming up discipline."

One cannot meet the imperialistic efforts alertly and be ready for combat, nor master military science without working on further perfecting military discipline. The substance of this discipline will become ever richer. New aspects are coming to the fore. As Army General Heinz Hoffmann said at the XII Delegates Conference of the Free German Youth organizations in the National People's Army and to the border troops of the GDR, "That discipline gains in importance..., that is, quality work, dependability, stamina, honesty, self-control, and always continual work on one's own qualifications. That is, a discipline that especially ensures the optimal functioning of weapons and equipment, that assures success in combat situations--and at times being quicker, more precise, more accurate, in a word, more successful than the opponent."

Thus the old soldier's truth holds true even in peacetime. Rightfully so, the given new standards today are based on discipline. Thus it really is the mother of victory before and beyond the war.

12348

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WRITERS' ASSOCIATION NOMINATES NEW ORTHODOX PRESIDENT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Dec 84 p 25

[Article by S. Wirsing: "Making an Appearance is Obligatory"]

[Text] When the SED had its last large-scale meeting in East Berlin, the Tenth Party Congress in April 1981, there was a small, but telling deviation from the standard procedure. The delegates were already at work when writer Gerhard Holtz-Baumert received the news that his appearance had been coopted. This unexpected call was followed by something no less surprising--his election to the central committee. At the end of the party congress, the list of members of the central committee contained the new name; contrary to custom, the new man had never been a candidate member of the central committee: "Gerhard Holtz-Baumert; vicepresident of the executive committee of the GDR writers' association; born on 25 December 1927; party member since 1947; journalist, teacher, writer." In alphabetical order, the next name on the party register was Erich Honecker, secretary general of the central committee and chairman of the state council of the GDR.

Those who are familiar with the workings of the establishment were certainly able to foresee back then what this sudden promotion of the author of children's books signified. The party leadership had given to understand fairly unobtrusively whose turn it would be to be named to the top position in the writers' association of the GDR, whenever a change was ready to be announced. Theoretically any member of the presidium of the association can be named president. In reality, one could expect that Holtz-Baumert had been selected for the presidency in case an emergency arose. His fellow presidium member Helmut Sakowski, who had spent 10 years as a central committee candidate before he was elevated to a full-fledged member in 1973, no longer needed to hope for the top post of the writers' association.

The emergency of having to decide on a successor has not yet taken place, but it is looming on the horizon. The president of the writers' association is still Herman Kant. The performance of his functions, however, has been for time being entrusted to Holtz-Baumert (cf. FAZ, 17 December 1984). NEUES DEUTSCHLAND informed its readership about the event, which was incorporated into a report about a routine meeting of the executive committee of the association as follows: "Hermann Kant notified the executive committee by letter that for reasons of health he is unable to carry out his duties as president of the association. The executive committee elected vicepresident Holtz-Baumert acting president of the writers' association of the GDR."

The astonishing aspect of the matter is certainly not that the ill president's duties have been taken over by one of his deputies. What does seem unusual is that the internal change occurred so openly and officially. When Anna Seghers, Hermann Kant's predecessor in the same position, could no longer carry out her responsibilities because of her advanced age, everyone waited for the next writers' association congress to take place in order to formally elect a successor and to entrust the aged poetess and functionary with the honorary presidency. The haste with which the central committee this time anticipated the election of a new president and the fact that it made virtually no effort to conceal what was happening, lead one to conclude that this was a case of obeying a firm party directive.

Kant's continuing illness must have provided a golden opportunity for the Politburo members who wanted to elevate Holtz-Baumert to the presidency today rather than tomorrow. There is no need to speculate about the advocates of the change. Their goal is not to maintain literary quality and personal prestige at the head of the writers' association--qualities exemplified in succession by presidents Johannes R. Becher, Anna Seghers and Hermann Kant. The favor shown the candidacy of Holtz-Baumert points unmistakably to a victory by Poliburo member Konrad Naumann and a defeat for his opponent Kurt Hager.

Konrad Naumann, age 56, has in his way to the top acquired the reputation an unscrupulous party climber, hungry for power and eager to use it. Kurt Hager, age 72, who is in charge of cultural policy in the top party body, represents with varying degrees of success whatever political liberality is possible at a given time. His latest visit to the Soviet Union on the occasion of the GDR culture days in Moscow and the demonstrations of submission he made give an idea of the lessening chances of his course. Looking at the "capitalistic Federal Republic" and the "revanchist efforts of politicians and organizations of the FRG", Hager emphasized that there was no "open German question". He rejected the idea of reunification for the "socialistic GDR" as categorically as he denied the existence of a "single German culture". The "socialistic national culture of the GDR" has some roots not "in the least in the rich values of Soviet culture as well as in the cultures of the other socialistic states". A major role in Hager's speech was played by the serious, just barely patched up disagreements between the Soviet leadership and GDR state and party boss Erich Honecker. They continue to have a highly visible effect on the economic situation of the GDR and determine the political background of the half-completed, half-postponed resignation of Hermann Kant.

Kant was not a hesitant functionary when it was a matter of appealing to deviant colleagues to behave reasonably, and he did not shrink from taking strong steps to emphasize his reprimands. During the 6 years of his active presidency, the writers of the GDR have suffered greatly; emigration to the West has reduced literary life. And only the future will show what damage was done to the literature of the GDR. Nevertheless no one claims that Kant was one of the main people to blame for this blood-letting that threatened to turn into a total disaster. He was no resistance fighter, and as such he

would not have been suitable for his office. But in the many speeches that he made on cultural policy, there is no lack of critical passages that measure the GDR's proud, socialistic sense of mission against reality. He said as recently as September at a "meeting with creators of art and culture" in the presence of the head of state, "I fear that we are wasting a lot of strength and time on arguments that are superfluous. And frequently we rely too little on our own experiences." Despite the reverence felt for books as companions on the road and in battle, one should not forget "that violent and by no means always agreeable feuds have been fought over many a literary work, some that were avoidable, others that one does not really understand any more.

When Erich Honecker spoke on the same occasion, he informed the artists what was necessary "in the battles of our time" for the further development of the "national culture of the GDR". Honecker said, "Our time requires works of art that strengthen socialism, that make one aware of the greatness and beauty of that which has often been achieved with difficulty, works of art that focus on the active, history-making hero, the working class and its representatives." Gerhard Holtz-Baumert, the author of *Alfons Zitterbacke Tramping Northward* and *You Must Show Up*, presents himself as an exemplary guarantor of such programmatic literature.

9873

CSO: 2300/210



POLAND

## SOVIET-POLISH SOCIOPOLITICAL COOPERATION NOTED

### Goals of Friendship Society

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Nov 84 p 3

[Interview with Stefan Nawrot, general secretary of the Main Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society by Andrzej Jurczynski]

[Text] Forty years ago, on 22 November 1944, the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society arose in Lublin on the initiative of a group of intellectuals and social activists. It was established 4 months after the revival of the Polish state under a new political system.

A reporter from RZECZPOSPOLITA interviews Stefan Nawrot, the general secretary of the society's Main Board, about the society's history, its present state, and its plans.

[Nawrot] The idea of Polish-Soviet friendship and fraternal cooperation was reflected in the July manifesto, which was composed of basic proposals based on the experiences of the two decades between the wars, of the September tragedy, and of the camaraderie in arms of the Polish and Soviet soldier. Liberation from Nazi occupation gave our society a genuine reason for gratitude to the soldiers of the Red Army and the Soviet Union for the growth of pro-Soviet sympathy. From the first days of freedom, the rebuilding of the country was based on alliance, friendships, and all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union. This new form of relations with the USSR became one of the basic factors in the change which took place in the fate of Poland and Poles in the past 40 years.

[Question] Yet not everybody evaluated things in this way. Many drew the opposite conclusions.

[Answer] That's true. Once we wrongly concealed this truth and declared uncritically that from the first days of liberation the whole nation had accepted in heart and mind the idea of Polish-Soviet friendship and alliance. Meanwhile, the facts speak for themselves and clearly indicate that strongly influential feelings often led in the opposite direction and adversely influenced the general frame of mind. Bourgeois propaganda took advantage of all the shades of Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations, in order to

distort the image of the Soviet Union and of the socialist structure in our country to the highest degree, in order to present the soldier-liberator as someone who threatened our culture. This primitive, aggressive propaganda, unfortunately, has sunk into the consciousness of many Poles and even into the consciousness of certain strata of the working class and the peasantry.

At the same time, however, the desire to learn the truth about a society which bore on its shoulders the chief burden of battle against a mighty enemy increased. A significant contribution to this was made by the Soviet soldier, who gave us freedom and who, arm in arm with the Polish soldier, routed the common enemy. He conducted himself with dignity and in the face of manifest prejudice--and sometimes of obvious hostility--he was the first to extend a helping hand to the civilian population and he helped in the reconstruction of our ruins.

All this necessitated that we reflect on what the enemy's proclaimed propaganda and draw appropriate conclusions. Thus social initiatives increased, which favored the establishment of close relations with units in the Red Army; local committees of joint action, among others, came into being.

[Question] The main advocates of Polish-Soviet friendship and of closer cooperation were the communists. Yet those supporting them were intellectuals of different convictions.

[Answer] The pioneers of our movement, alongside members of the Polish Workers Party, include activists of the Polish Socialist Party, the Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, the Union of Young Fighters, the Youth Organization of the Society of Workers' Universities, the Rural Youth organization "Wici," trade unions, the cooperative and women's movement. Here one can mention people with such varied ideological pedigrees as L. Kruczkowski, J. Chalasinski, L. Schiller, S. Pietak, J. Przybos, A. Korzycki, C. Wycech, J.K. Wende, H. Swiatkowski, P. Dabek. The pioneering activity of the society was free of orthodoxy. From the very beginning we united the rich tradition of our progressive groups with the progressive forces of the Russian and Soviet peoples. This open nature of our movement, the tie to such rich traditions, favored the aggressiveness of the activity of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. Over the course of several years the society became a mass organization.

[Question] How do you evaluate the efficacy of the influence of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society on the views of the succeeding generations of Poles?

[Answer] We have already lived through various periods. We have behind us some warmly welcomed successes and the conviction that we have accomplished our mission, for the idea of Polish-Soviet friendship has become the property of the whole nation and traces of anti-Soviet feeling constitute a narrow margin of social life in our country. In our opinion, we must take into consideration the forces of the class enemy in the international sphere. Recent years have made us aware of this truth strongly indeed, and painfully.

Anti-Soviet indoctrination is an inseparable element of ideological confrontation. Nothing indicates that our opponents have given up their anti-Soviet and antisocialist crusade. And hence concrete tasks arise for all the organs of socialist propaganda and likewise for our society.

Service for the cause in which we have already been active for 40 years means active participation in the class confrontation, aggressive creation in the people's consciousness of conditions for an effective battle over the political views and attitudes of the Poles. But above all we are concerned with the elimination of anticommunist and anti-Soviet feelings from the people's consciousness. We assume at the same time that today anti-Soviet feeling has no objective justification, that, on the contrary, it hurts our political and national interests. Even in the peak period of anarchy, an overwhelming majority of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia reacted with disapproval to manifestations of anti-Soviet sentiments. That means that the enemy did not succeed in reaching too deeply into the social consciousness.

In the recent period of turbulence--and we acknowledge this openly--we suffered significant losses. The number of members, circles and supporters decreased. Our *aktiv*, however, acquired a great deal of experience in the political struggle and got to know the enemy's arguments and method of operation. As a result of self-verification, in our ranks there were left only those for whom work in the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society is a motivated ideological-patriotic duty and a social passion. There exists the real possibility that every one of our members will be an agitator, that the division into activists and regular members will disappear. We have never had 2.5 million agitators, but now such a possibility does exist.

[Question] Important tasks for the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society result from the document passed in October 1982 by the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee entitled "Essential Principles and Tasks for Strengthening Polish-Soviet Friendship in the Public Consciousness."

[Answer] That document was elaborated with the participation of representatives from the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, and in regard to it were consulted youth organizations, lay Catholic circles, social activists, and experts from national institutes. The tasks defined in the document address themselves to political and social organizations, departments, and cells on the ideological front. We believe that the realization of this resolution opens a new stage in society's activity.

It means the elimination of superficiality and sloganeering in our work, the concentrating of the *aktiv*'s attention on genuine activity which will clarify the essence of Polish-Soviet friendship and spread information about the USSR. Our society, in realizing the provisions of the document, is developing cooperation with various organizations. Among other things, as of October 1983, thanks to our cooperation with the Polish Academy of Sciences, the year-old postgraduate research center for information about the USSR and Polish-Soviet relations which has 135 students is in operation and the research materials will be made accessible to secondary school teachers of history.

A cell was convened to examine the degree of awareness and the quality of propaganda for Polish-Soviet friendship. We already have our own publishing and printing house--"Wspolpraca." Our own tourist department has also appeared, working in conjunction with Orbis, in organizing trips to the Soviet Union. The National Workers Agency bulletin has appeared, containing materials about Polish-Soviet economic cooperation. The Journalists' Association Club of Polish People's Republic is also active, assembling 214 journalists specializing in the topic of Polish Soviet friendship. We greatly value the effects of the lecture series, presented by 2200 lecturers, on the topic of "Who Is Hindering a Polish-Soviet Alliance and Why?" I'd also like to add that we are linked through cooperation with fraternal organizations in socialist countries and especially with the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society.

So it's the historical experiences of our people in the struggle for independence and collective emancipation, the traditions of shared revolutionary struggles of the best sons of our people and the peoples of the Soviet Union, the revolutionary legacy of Lenin's struggle for international solidarity and equal rights of peoples, the sacrifice of soldiers' and partisans' life and blood in the battle with Hitler's Germans, the brotherly support of the Soviet people in the reconstruction of our devastated country, in the guarantee of the inviolability of our borders, and also today, when the Soviet Union gives numerous proofs of aid, notwithstanding its own difficulties--these are the marks of friendship. They are always present in the program of our activities.

#### Education Exchange

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Nov 84 p 5

[Article by A.S.: "Cooperation in the Sphere of Sociopolitical Research: A Polish-Soviet Seminar in Lublin"]

[Text] For 3 days, starting on 20 November, in the halls of the Lublin Learned Society, there has been a conference of institute directors and heads of Polish sociopolitical studies departments and Soviet academies. This is the second meeting of scholars at this level from both countries representing the sociopolitical disciplines.

The main goal of the Polish-Soviet seminar is to broaden and deepen bilateral didactic and scholarly cooperation in the area of the specified disciplines.

There are close to 100 people participating in the seminar. Apart from Polish and Soviet teachers, other participants include representatives of the appropriate ministries from both countries. Leading the delegates from both sides are the following deputy ministers: Prof Stanislaw Nowacki, deputy minister of science, higher education, and technology of the Polish People's Republic, and Nikolay Ivanovich Mokhov, deputy minister of higher education and secondary technical education in the USSR.

On the afternoon of 22 November, Deputy Minister Nowacki opened the conference, while Prof Stanislaw Uziak, the rector of M. Curie-Sklodowska University, welcomed the seminar participants in the name of the Lublin academic community.

In keeping with the seminar's program, the papers presented that day were of an introductory and general nature.



POLAND

#### POSSIBLE DEFENSE MEASURES AGAINST NATO THREAT DISCUSSED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 84 pp 57-72

[Article by Julian Kaczmarek, Wojciech Lepkowski and Zbigniew Paluch:  
"Military Problems of Poland's Security"]

[Text] The Nature of the Current Military Threat

One of the major tasks of military science is to predict the nature of a possible war in Europe as well as the danger that such a war represents to Poland. The results of work on this set of issues are contingent upon a tremendous number of continually changing factors, both on the Polish side and on the side of the potential enemy. Since the scale of the impact of these factors and their significance frequently are unknown, the assumptions based upon them may depart significantly from the actual proportions. The issue is also complicated by the fact that the military nature of war is contingent upon a series of nonmilitary factors--diplomatic, ideological, economic and others.

Just how difficult it is to study this question is shown by the fact that throughout history we have predicted accurately the nature of a future war in only a few cases. Moreover, the instances in which valid predictions have led us to draw the right conclusions for organizing an effective defense against the attacks of an aggressor are even rarer.

For obvious reasons, research into military issues can be based only on generally available, published data. With regard to the issue of the military danger to our country in the event of war, this is a very critical limitation since it clearly affects the degree of accuracy of research.

The policy of the NATO states, particularly the United States, during the entire postwar period has been geared toward confrontation with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. Our potential enemies are trying to achieve this goal through attempts at weakening our economy, through ideological diversion, through pushing the arms race and through insuring their own military superiority. On the strategic level, this policy is aimed at liquidating socialism as a social system.<sup>1</sup> The attainment of this political goal is possible only through a war. That our potential enemies are aware of this is shown by their introduction of newer and newer weapons



into their defense systems, increased armaments spending, their attitude to every disarmament proposal made by socialist states<sup>2</sup> and the continual "perfecting" of the martial doctrine of the United States and the NATO states.

The NATO doctrine of flexible reaction in effect since 1967 and the doctrine of realistic deterrence adopted in 1971 are indicative. They proclaim that the effectiveness of U.S. "deterrence" will be accomplished through<sup>3</sup>:

- the continual improvement of American strategic nuclear forces;
- increased emphasis placed upon the role of these forces;
- the setting up of an increased number of strategic goals for nuclear strikes; and in the European NATO states through:
- an increase in the number of atomic weapons and the modernization of the operational-tactical means of transporting them;
- a considerable increase in the conventional armed forces, especially in their quality.

An excellent example of the aggression policy of the United States and its aim to settle possible conflicts through war is its unfounded recognition of the Persian Gulf as an American sphere of influence and its reservation of the right to all forms of intervention, combined with the use of armed forces, both in this region and everywhere that the protection of "vital" American "interests" is concerned.

Nuclear weapons have played a decisive role in the military plans of the NATO states. However, the idea of their utilization has passed through various phases of development. Without entering into details, let us stress that the present NATO doctrine anticipates various variants of activity--from stirring up crisis situations and provocational demonstrations of force to the pre-planned escalation of armed battle; from war without the use of nuclear arms or with the limited use of nuclear arms to all-out atomic warfare. This latter variant continues to be the central point of preparations.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the use of nuclear weapons by a potential enemy, it should be emphasized that all limitations concerning the use of these weapons, especially in Europe, are extremely difficult to achieve in practice. It is impossible to define precisely the terms of limitation in a situation where views differ about which weapons are to be considered tactical and which are to be considered operational. Moreover, the limitations are supposed to refer to the nature of targets to be attacked, the kinds of explosions and the like. If we add the unfeasibility of these limitations to the resolute political goals of the NATO states, we must recognize that it is very likely that a war in Europe will be a war with the unlimited use of nuclear arms from the very outset.

The decisions of NATO states, in which great importance in a future war is ascribed to nuclear weapons, confirm this idea in full. It is also borne out by the continual modernization of these weapons and by the inclusion of new versions of them in the arsenal. Especially dangerous, however, are the recent decisions concerning the deployment of the Pershing II missiles and the cruise missiles throughout Europe. Due to their number, range, accuracy, brevity of flight time and great resistance to destruction, they

increase substantially the danger to the socialist states. Add to this the anticipated introduction of neutron heads on Lance missiles and neutron missiles on 203.2 mm and 155 mm howitzers.<sup>5</sup>

Another consequence of this policy is the development and continual expansion of quick reaction weapons. The task of these weapons is to conduct war operations outside the so-called statutory sphere of NATO responsibility. In practice, this means the possibility of activities on all continents, especially the Near and Middle East. This group is made up of 18 airborne assault units, the major part of the tactical air force ninth army and part of the strategic air force, as well as assigned joint forces and task groups of the NATO naval forces.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the political-military measures of this pact, the role that Poland plays in the Warsaw Pact determines the character and level of the military threat to Poland posed by the NATO states. After the Soviet Union, Poland occupies the second place in this pact in terms of its economic potential, the size and equipping of its armed forces, its logistical support potential in the event of war and its mobilization potential.

The power structure that arose in Europe after World War II and the farsighted policy of the Polish communists have made Poland a firm ally of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states today. This is extremely vital for an enemy that respects only the argument of force. In his calculations, he will have to take into account the fact that aggression against any of the socialist states means war with all of them.

The geographical location of our country means that we do not have direct contact with a potential enemy on land. Thus, in the initial, most difficult period of the war we will not have to face land armies or resist the firearms with which these armies are equipped. The main threat would be an air strike, the possible actions of airborne and naval assaults and the possibility of the actions of unconventional warfare forces and radioelectronic warfare.

Likewise, we may assume that the enemy, initiating a war in Europe, having made the first attacks with nuclear or conventional weaponry, will plan a shift to a strategic offensive operation with land army forces in combination with the operations of landed airborne and naval assaults, supported by airborne operations. The goal of such an operation may be to destroy the allied armed forces of the Warsaw Pact remaining after the first strike and to gain control of the territory of the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the western areas of the Soviet Union.

In making calculations, the enemy must envisage the specific rate of the operation that, as tests have shown, can fluctuate from 20 to 30 km per day. Thus, in initiating a war, the enemy takes into consideration in his plans that after 35 days have passed, he will be able to advance to the line of the Bug River with his land armies.<sup>7</sup>

Regardless of whether the preceding calculations are realistic at all or perhaps even somewhat realistic, they can affect the choice of targets slated for attack. Thus, it is extremely vital that we determine the nature of the targets distributed throughout Poland that may be destroyed by a potential enemy during the initial days of a war. Taking the enemy's calculations, then, we see that it is highly unlikely that Polish heavy industrial plants will be attacked because what is produced in these plants does not have any significant impact upon the potential for the armed forces of our coalition to conduct armed battle. Nor will the short time allow us to evacuate industry.<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, the structures in Poland that will be of fundamental importance to the enemy will probably be primarily the armed forces and the installations of the military infrastructure located here, including airfields, marine bases, warehouses, depots and other facilities as well as state administrative buildings and facilities associated with those in charge of defense-related activity. Due to Poland's geographical position, it is a very important transit zone for regrouping forces and weapons headed for combat activity in other regions. Thus, we must count on the possibility that the enemy will strike at transport system facilities such as highway junctions, railroad stations, bridges and crossings over wide water obstacles. It is also possible to create a zone of contamination and destruction at these obstacles as a result of ground nuclear strikes.<sup>9</sup>

#### The Threat of Air Strikes

This is the basic type of danger to our territory. At the same time, the variant that would do us the most harm primarily concerns the danger that emanates from the possibility of nuclear air strikes. We can only approximate closely the number of such attacks. For example, in NATO, the United States, Great Britain and France have atomic weapons at their disposal. It is known that only a portion of the entire nuclear potential of the United States will be utilized within the NATO framework. Assumptions regarding the size of this part likewise may deviate from the actual figures, especially since the execution of maneuvers in this domain and the regrouping of forces and weapons for Europe pose no special problems.

Meanwhile, the possibility of executing strikes and their number are contingent upon many factors. For example, with regard to airfields, the number of targets hit is contingent not only upon the number of planes possessed, but also upon the intensity of activities (the average number of departures per day), the technical efficiency of planes (averaging 80 percent), the combat potential (in turn contingent upon their combat cargo), the likelihood that a target will be hit, the degree of counteraction of anti-aircraft defense weapons and the losses borne. All these factors should be considered in calculations of the intensity of activities. It is envisaged that in the first 24 hours of the war, each plane will make 1.5 departures. This intensity will decline with each subsequent 24-hour period. It is assumed that one nuclear bomb (one missile) will attack one target and that, during the course of one flight, one plane can attack not more than two targets. Finally, we must calculate what percentage of all possible strikes will be directed at targets situated on Polish territory. Since we are considering the nuclear potential of the

Table 1. Nuclear Arsenal of NATO States Slated for Activities in Europe and the Hypothetical Number of Targets Attacked Within Polish Territory

<u>System</u>	<u>Number of Launchers (means of transport)</u>	<u>Number of Warheads (bombs)</u>	<u>Total Warheads (bombs + intensity of 1.5 flights)</u>	<u>The 10 Percent Aimed at Poland</u>
1. United States	Ballistic missiles on submarines			
Polaris A-3 (3) <sup>a</sup>	48	3	144	15
Poseidon (3)	48	10	480	48
	Strategic bombers			
FB-111	65	2	195	20
	Operational-tactical means			
Planes:				
F-4 Phantom <sup>b</sup>	246	2	738	73
F-111	172	2	516	52
A-6E and A-7E on 5 aircraft carriers	240	1	360	36
Missiles:				
Pershing I	180	1	180	18
2. Great Britain	Ballistic missiles on submarines			
Polaris A-3 (4)	64	3	192	19
	Operational-tactical means			
Planes:				
Vulcan B-2	55	1	82	8
Jaguar	72	1	108	11
Buccaneer	60	1	90	9
3. France	Above-ground and submarine launchers			
S-3	18	1	18	2
M-20	80	1	80	8
	Operational-tactical means			
Planes:				
Mirage IV	46	1	69	7
Total targets				326

a) the number of atomic submarines equipped with the given missile system is given in parentheses

b) the number of F-4 and F-111 planes is based on: "The Military Balance 1983-1984."

Source: B. Wozniecki, "NATO lat osiemdziesiatych," Warsaw, 1982, pp 113-115.

United States, Great Britain and France that is deployed on the European continent and adjacent seas and is expected to strike at targets situated throughout the territory of all the socialist states, it is estimated that 10 percent of all possible strikes will be aimed at Poland.

It is also assumed that no attacks will be made on Poland by intercontinental ballistic missiles deployed on the territory of the United States or by the use of B-52 strategic bombers.

It should be stressed that the potential for making attacks on targets situated within Polish territory present in the table will increase after the deployment in Europe of 108 Pershing II missiles and 464 cruise missiles. According to the assumptions used here, this would mean the possibility of striking at an additional 60 or so targets.

In the event that the enemy initiates activities using conventional weapons alone, the number of targets attacked and the effectiveness of the attacks will be reduced considerably. This emanates from the fact that nearly all the missiles listed in this article are adapted for transporting nuclear warheads alone, thus giving them limited use in conventional activities. Moreover, several planes or even a dozen or so planes must be assigned to each target. However, nearly the entire aerial fleet of the NATO air forces assigned to tasks in the European theater of war would participate in these activities,<sup>10</sup> and the strikes also would probably be executed at a considerably lesser depth, would could have an effect on their concentration within Polish territory. In conventional activities, during the first 24 hours of a war, the enemy could strike at a total of between 150 and 200 targets within the territory of Poland.

#### The Threat of Airborne Assaults

The land forces of NATO states number approximately 2.4 million soldiers. They are organized into 88 armored, mechanized, infantry, mountain and airborne assault divisions. The land forces of the NATO states possess armaments that include about 26,000 tanks, 49,000 infantry combat vehicles, more than 20,000 cannons and mortars and about 10,000 planes and helicopters of the land armies air force.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the mobilization potential of the NATO states enables them to organize an additional 61 divisions within a short time.

The concept of the use of these forces in offensives in the European theater of wartime activities, verified during drills organized each year, anticipates mass raids by tactical airborne assault and task force assault units.

Task force raids may take place within Polish territory yet in the first day of the war. Their tasks may include: seizing and holding crossings on large water obstacles (for example, the Oder and the Nysa) until the arrival of armies attacking from the front ranks; gaining control of territories and highway junctions that are important from an operations viewpoint; seizing and holding airports; destroying nuclear weapons; destroying military warehouses and depots and performing other tasks. Airborne raids may be conducted



in conjunction with naval assaults to seize bridgeheads, to prevent the approach of forces into regions where naval raids are being conducted, and the like. We should count on the possibility that not more than two airborne assaults of task force significance would be conducted in Polish territory.

#### The Threat of Naval Assaults

The number of naval forces of the NATO states, including the forces of the north European theater of wartime activities, likewise enables the organization and execution of a naval assault on a section of Poland's seacoast. These forces include 370 ships, including about 60 landing craft and landing cutters, as well as 198 planes and helicopters in the naval air force.<sup>12</sup> Since the total number of combat and special ships that may be put under NATO command is estimated at 1,340, we may assume that the naval forces of the north European theater of wartime activities can be strengthened considerably. The relatively favorable conditions for making a sea landing on our coast emanate from the short distance that separates us from the NATO Baltic states. The purpose of a naval assault may be to secure the northern wing of the attacking armies and to seize joint control of western Pomorze. The naval raid would be preceded by a battle to gain control of the Baltic waters.

A naval assault may be organized and performed together with an airborne assault.

#### The Threat of Unconventional Warfare

The NATO states assume that, from the very beginning of a war in Europe, regardless of its nature, armies specially placed under the command of the theater of wartime activities and unconventional warfare-reconnaissance subunits belonging to tactical joint forces, detachments and even subunits will take part in activities. The tasks of special forces and unconventional warfare-reconnaissance groups are very diverse, ranging from reconnaissance, spreading misinformation, disrupting radioelectronic systems and organizing raids to destroying civilian and military installations, even by using minimal-force nuclear payloads.

The makeup of unconventional warfare groups may be very diverse (from several to several dozen people), while the groups designated to perform tasks within our territory during the first days of a war must include at least several dozen people. As activities progress, this number may increase. Groups remaining after the dispersal of airborne and naval assaults also may be transferred over to unconventional warfare tasks.

#### The Threat of Radioelectronic Activities

At the present stage of development of military engineering, when almost every armaments system and every system of reconnaissance, command and others is based on radioelectronic equipment, the disruption of the operation of this equipment can reduce considerably the effectiveness of air force, missile and anti-aircraft defense system activities in Poland, as well as state radio communications systems, or it can cause a loss of potential for commanding armies.

NATO programs project intensive efforts to develop the means of active and passive resistance, as well as equipment for disrupting our radioelectronic systems on land, on the sea and in the air.

Organic subunits for conducting radioelectronic activities are being added to divisions, corps and armies; American corps are receiving special new planes designed to conduct radioelectronic battle; the planes and helicopters of the NATO air forces are equipped with modern monitoring and jamming devices linked to minicomputers and microprocessors. NATO potential in the sphere of radio-electronic warfare will increase substantially following the introduction of EF-111A aircraft into the American air force. These planes are equipped with the most up-to-date radioelectronic equipment.<sup>13</sup>

Our necessarily incomplete discussion here of the potential of NATO armed forces for conducting activities within Polish territory leads us to conclude that these activities would be very diverse and comprehensive. They would be conducted very intensively from the very outbreak of the war, by armies equipped with modern, efficient means of armed battle. This is indicated by the broad and in-depth militarization of scientific-technological potential that in turn is demonstrated by the broad scope of research being conducted by the enemy on military applications of fields of study that will expand in the future, such as the directed thermonuclear reaction, quantum electronics, the physics of elementary particles, study of the cosmos, atmospheric and the like. The possibility and the great probability that the achievements of human knowledge will be used this extensively for the objectives of war and the progressive militarization of scientific and technical potential are causing a further dangerous increase in the threat of war.

To recapitulate, the following assumptions defining the character of a possible war in Europe and the extent of the threat to Poland are highly probable:

1. The war in Europe probably will be a war over clearly defined political and military goals, in which all restrictions, especially restrictions regarding the level of the use of nuclear weapons and the nature of targets attacked are only minimally likely to be implemented.
2. The potential enemy will initiate the war and he will attempt to make use of all the related advantages, above all the surprise attack.
3. The potential enemy will make the first nuclear strike, most probably from the moment of the outbreak of the war.
4. Due to the geopolitical situation of Poland, we must expect primarily the threat of air strikes, the threat arising from airborne and naval landings, the danger of unconventional warfare and radioelectronic-related warfare.

## The Defense Concept of Poland

### Basic Premises of the Defense System

The picture of the danger that has been laid out in this article shows clearly that we are not free today from the possibility of an outbreak of war conducted by the most terrible means of destruction hitherto known to humanity. For the first time in history, however, there is also a real chance that a new world war will not erupt. This chance is created by the existence of powerful

sociopolitical forces throughout the world whose major element is the community of socialist states. This community has at its disposal the moral and material means of opposing the eruption of a global armed conflict.

It is impossible to mention all of the many peace initiatives and proposals of the socialist states. Since the end of World War II, there have been at least several dozen. Many have been advanced by Poland. Let us mention only its initiatives on the issues of eliminating atomic weapons, averting the danger of an outbreak of world war, the creation in Central Europe of a nuclear-free zone and educating societies in the spirit of peace, as well as its diplomatic efforts to call the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE].

Unquestionably, the policy of peaceful coexistence conducted by the socialist states fosters opposing war. Likewise, activities aimed at winning allies and ensuring that noninvolved states will maintain at least a neutral position in the event of war, at strengthening the ideological unity and cooperation of all elements of the international communist and workers movement and at developing contacts with all democratic forces and cooperation and dialogue with states based on different systems, all serve the goals of peace. The principle of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between states with different sociopolitical systems is dominant in the international policy of the Soviet Union and the entire community of socialist states. Its implementation is not a simple matter, however, since from the time of the end of World War II until the present day, imperialist states, with the United States at the helm, have continued making preparations for armed confrontation with the community of socialist states. This is demonstrated clearly by the creation of the North Atlantic Pact and the expansion of its organizational structure, as well as the creation of the FRG, its militarization and its becoming a member of the pact.

This most powerful group in the West, characterized from the beginning by militancy and aggressiveness, has become the nucleus of the entire system of military blocs established in various regions of the world at the end of the 1940's and beginning of the 1950's and directed against the community of socialist states.

In this situation, the Soviet Union and the European countries entering the road of socialist development have been forced to take the indispensable steps to guarantee their own self-defense. This was expressed in the 14 May 1955 signing of the multilateral Pact of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid, known as the Warsaw Pact, the basic check against the implementation of the plans of NATO aggression.

The military-strategic stability achieved through the consolidation of the forces of socialism was and is the factor that has checked the aggressive aims of imperialism; it conforms completely to the vital interests of peace loving nations. As is known, however, the peaceful, constructive proposals of the states of our community aimed at preserving collective security in Europe and peaceful coexistence have not been accepted properly by the Western powers. Given the continued danger of this situation, Poland and the other socialist countries are forced to treat defense preparations as an absolute necessity.

Our defense activity is consistent with the accepted provisions of the defense of the PRL /Polish People's Republic/ that stipulate:

First, our state, having no territorial claims or nationalities problems, is in no way interested in changing the existing status quo, in conducting a war of any kind. We can achieve the development of the country and the prosperity of the nation only through the peaceful, creative efforts of the entire society. Thus, we have inscribed the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence permanently into the provisions of our national defense doctrine. In this situation, our country can only be forced to take part in a war when some state or coalition of states assails our achievements and those of our allies. This means that we can conduct only a just, progressive, nonaggressive war, a defensive war.

Second, given the postwar power structure, only defense in alliance with the socialist states, and the Soviet Union above all, enabling the existence of a really effective coalition defense system is the surest guarantee of our security. The importance of the Warsaw Pact is based on the fact that, as the defense shield of the socialist states, it is also an element of balance between the forces of socialism and capitalism. Maintaining peace on a worldwide scale today depends on preserving this balance. Thus, we are vitally interested in deepening and expanding this alliance.

Third, being bordered on all sides by allied socialist states, we are nowhere endangered from land. A direct raid can take place only from the air and from the sea. This impacts upon the nature of our defense preparations.

The preceding provisions are the essence of the basic concept of our defense system. Due to the nature of a possible war and the extent of the threat, its role has grown immeasurably in the last decade. Under present circumstances, characterized by the transfer of the battle to nonmilitary planes (ideological, diplomatic, psychological, economic and the like), increased importance is attributed to the idea of defense. Broadly speaking this significance lies in several aspects, mainly the political-defensive, the economic-defensive and the military. Thus, defense issues are not exclusively identifiable with the work of the armed forces.

Moreover, the contemporary capabilities of weaponry mean that in a potential armed conflict, not only the armies fighting at the front will be in danger, but the entire territory of the fighting states. Thus, in addition to the forces conducting armed battle, entire nations will participate in a modern war, mobilizing all available forces and means to implement their goals. Under present circumstances, war impacts directly on social and state life, threatening everyone and everything. Given this situation, one cannot conceive of a field of state activity in which preparations for the country's defense are inappropriate. This is indicated by the scope of defense tasks implemented through the joint efforts of the armed forces and nonmilitary organs, with the full understanding and active support of the entire society.



## General Assumptions of the PRL Defense System

As we have stated, the fundamental element shaping the character of our defense system is our membership in the Warsaw Pact and our acceptance of the jointly prepared defense doctrine. In the spirit of this doctrine, our defense preparations are linked inseparably with the defense preparations of the Soviet Union and the other member countries of the pact.

The complex, multiaspectual and multipurpose nature of our defense system causes it to be examined and researched as a system whose organizational structure and component elements have been formed on the basis of past experiences, especially those of World War II, and the scientific conclusions and forecasts formulated over the course of the past 40 years.

The scope of defense efforts encompasses all fields of state activity, combining both military issues and preparations for defense in the nonmilitary sector as well.

Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact and its acceptance of the jointly prepared defense doctrine impact significantly upon the shape of our national defense system, whose subsystems (groups of elements) are built upon two mutually complementary systems: the coalition system, within whose framework operate the task force armies designated primarily for resisting and routing a potential aggressor (in close cooperation with the other armed forces of the members of the Warsaw Pact) on the so-called external front, and the internal domestic system, i.e., the system that lies within the framework of the territorial defense of Poland, on the so-called internal front.

From this emanate both specific preparations and measures embarked upon in an international scale (primarily interallied) and national scale (internal) within the framework of our defense system.

These various activities embarked upon in the coalition and internal domestic systems are implemented by the particular elements (subsystems) of the defense system of the state that, within their given area, make up the external and internal fronts. These elements include the following subsystems: political-defensive, economic-defensive, military, internal order and public security, civil defense and the subsystem for directing the defense of the state, integrating the activities of the particular elements of the system, enabling them, each in its own way, to contribute to achieving the common goal that results from the defense function of the state as expressed in its defense doctrine.

In this light, we see that the contemporary system of Poland's defense is that internally coordinated assemblage of interconnected elements (organizations, people and equipment) that perform various functions to maintain security and territorial integrity, uniformly operating under the leadership of political and state authorities, in accordance with state doctrine, according to which our defense preparations are linked indissolubly with the similar efforts of others implemented within the framework of the coalition.



The unity of the goal that emanates from the defense function of the state and is expressed in its defense doctrine and the universal nature of the danger cause the separation of the external and internal fronts to be of a contractual nature at the present time. In view of the danger to entire continents, regions, states and societies, the stress placed on this separation has only the purpose of emphasizing a certain difference in the area of directing armed forces and all defense operations. To a significant degree, the same applies to the divisions into the so-called external and internal dangers that have become a permanent fixture in military, political, legal and sociological publications, as well as to the defense functions emanating from these dangers. The divisions are becoming less and less rigid and are being obliterated to a considerable degree, since the scope and forms of the various threats encompass the territory of the entire country and its economic, political and social infrastructure.

While we certainly do not deny that there is a clear difference in content and form between the external and internal threat and the resultant organizational/institutional and specialized task differences of the elements and organs of the defense system, we must note the organic interdependency of the defense tasks implemented throughout the state defense system that arises from the political-strategic situation. We refer to the uniform strategic guidance of the defense of Poland and of its life; close cooperation in the area of protecting the political and socioeconomic system from various kinds of dangers caused by the forces inimical to this system; the comprehensive actions of civil defense and the organs of the state administration on behalf of the armed forces and for the protection of the population, as well as ensuring the continuity of operation of the defense infrastructure and the transportation, engineering-production and services infrastructures; the unity of strategic-defense planning and economic-defense planning and, above all, the unity of operation of task force armies and defense armies guarding Polish territory that bear the major burden of fighting a potential aggressor and demonstrate most clearly the defensive potential of the state through their actions. Despite the significant shift of some defense tasks to other elements of the defense system, army tasks implemented in the coalition and internal domestic systems by the armed forces and consisting of repulsing the attacks of enemy armed forces are of special importance. Only by means of armed battle is it possible to repel the aggression of the enemy and achieve a victory in the war.

The goal of military activity is to prepare and maintain the combat readiness of the armed forces during peacetime at a given level. During wartime, however, its purpose is to conduct armed battle until the ultimate victory over the enemy is attained. This general goal is achieved through the implementation of specific goals that include the following military goals: --the goals achieved by the armed forces known as task force armies, selected to perform coalition tasks (on the external front) within the framework of a strategic operation in the theater of military activities; --the goals laid out for the armed forces selected to defend Polish territory (on the so-called internal front).

The goal of the activities of task force armies implementing tasks within the framework of a strategic operation in the theater of wartime activities

(on land, at sea and in the air) shall be most often to defeat the armed forces of the enemy, to bring his economy to a standstill, to disorganize the system of state leadership (in the coalition states) and the armed forces leadership system and to prevent an invasion of the territory of the socialist countries.

The goal of a strategic operation is achieved through the simultaneous or successive performance of a series of tasks by task force groups of the branches of the armed forces. All branches of the armed forces take part in the operation, i.e., the strategic missile forces, the land armies, the air force, the navy and the antiaircraft defense forces of the particular states in the coalition. The number and quality of the armies expected to conduct a strategic operation should guarantee the implementation of all planned tasks and the attainment of the goal of the operation in the theater of wartime activities where tasks include the use of both conventional weapons and atomic weapons.

Consequently, a modern strategic operation is of an all-encompassing nature, both in terms of the environment in which it is conducted and in terms of the branches of the armed forces, armies and services taking part in it. It assumes specific forms, known as the forms of the strategic operation, that include: the first nuclear strike and successive strikes; operations to repulse an enemy air attack; front operations; airborne assault operations; air force operations and combat activities and naval operations and combat activities.

On the other hand, the goal of activities implemented within the framework of the military defense of the territory of Poland (by the home armies of territorial defense, militarized units and civil defense units), with the close cooperation of the organs of the state administration and the national economy, is to ensure the undisrupted rhythm of the operation of the country as the supply base of the domestic front and to create conditions that are as convenient as possible for the operation of the armed forces. This goal is attained through armed battle with the forces and weapons of the enemy that will be operating throughout the territory of the state. It is also attained through the implementation of a series of actions ensuring that the battle will be conducted effectively. At the same time, it should be stressed that tasks from the area of the armed battle with enemy forces that have invaded the territory of the country, or have made an incursion into the country over its territory (implemented within the framework of the airborne defense system of the country, the territorial defense system and the defense system of the coast) are no less important under present conditions than tasks implemented by task force groups. Given the present nature of the threat, the airborne defense of Poland is of special importance in this battle. Its proper organization and effective operation determine the vitality and efficient operation of the entire state during a war to a considerable degree, as well as the effectiveness of the cover of task force armies during specific stages of activities. It should be expected that, in spite of the destruction of the enemy's weapons of nuclear attack at their base (conducted within the framework of a strategic operation in the theater of war activities), a large portion of these weapons will retain their combat capabilities. Thus, we must guarantee their effective destruction in flight, before they have reached their targets.

The advantages of modern missile forces, equipped with the new generation of the weapons of armed battle, secured by radio engineering forces and cooperating with the forces of radioelectronic battle, currently enable the creation of a multilevel firing zone that is continuous in time and space and is intensified by the great maneuverability of the fighter air force. Thus, Poland's modern system of antiaircraft defense ensures the effective defense of air space over the entire territory of Poland.

Equally vital tasks are implemented within the framework of territorial defense and coastal defense. Generally these include: battling enemy forces that have succeeded in penetrating the country's interior and in creating a seat of armed battle there; battling the naval forces and blockading the seaports and naval bases of the enemy; directly supporting land activities; preventing the landing of naval and airborne assaults; army and equipment transport; safeguarding coastal transport and covering the coast, ports and naval bases and the like.

As we have stressed, the interdependence of the tasks implemented within the framework of the coalition and internal domestic systems requires close coordination. This is ensured by the contemporary structure of the elements steering state defense activity that takes into account the farreaching lateral integration of defense authority at all levels (primary, provincial and central). The accepted doctrinal assumptions and legal provisions state that in this structure it is possible to distinguish a hierarchy of elements (political organs, the organs of authority and the state administration and social organizations and cooperative unions) that guarantee the consistent, harmonious and efficient operation of the entire defense system, both in time of peace and in time of war. At the same time, it should be pointed out that the scope of the participation of the particular organs in the process of directing state defense varies according to the purpose of their activity. Such organs as the National Defense Committee [KOK], the Ministry of National Defense and the provincial defense committees have been entrusted solely with defense matters by virtue of pertinent legal regulations while others, depending upon their powers, exercise only general direction and make general provisions regarding state defense (the Sejm, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers) or implement the orders and guidelines of supreme organs.

The Polish United Workers Party possesses special informal powers with regard to the particular organs and elements of the state defense system. These emanate both from the entry in the PRL Constitution and from the very nature of this organization that performs a leadership role in the socialist state. In practice, the powers of the PZPR in the area of defense are manifested in the creation (in cooperation with the ZSL and SD) of a general defense strategy, in the initiation and coordination of efforts aimed at ensuring the external and internal security of Poland and, with regard to the armed forces, in the outlining of the directions of ideological-upbringing work and the defining of the principles of cadre policy, as well as the detailing of the directions of their development.

The characterization of NATO policy presented at the beginning of this article leads us to conclude that, in a military and international situation that lies in their favor, the major states of this pact, whose provocation of an arms race has been completely overt of late, may risk an armed conflict with the states-sides of the Warsaw Pact.

In such a situation, the only answer consistent with the security needs of the socialist community and our country is to step up political and diplomatic efforts to defend world peace while at the same time strengthening our defense system and keeping our armed forces in constant readiness to resist aggression.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Rozbrojenie, kto jest przeciw" [Who Opposes Disarmament?], Warsaw, 1983, p 7.
2. An example here is President Carter's Directive No 50, stating that "despite the conducting of talks on arms reduction, the course toward increasing military capability should be continued."
3. B. Wozniecki, "NATO lat osiemdziesiątych" [NATO of the 1980's], 1982, p 15.
4. A. Charisus, T. Dobias, W. Kozaczuk, "NATO, strategia i siły zbrojne 1949-1975" [NATO, Strategy and Armed Forces 1949-1975], Warsaw, 1977, p 305.
5. B. Wozniecki, op. cit., p 172.
6. Ibid., p 245.
7. The distance from the border of the FRG-GDR to the Bug River is about 880 km. If we divide this by the average rate of 25 km per day for the operation, we receive an answer of 35 days.
8. This statement refers to concretely envisaged circumstances; certainly, it does not undermine the idea of the importance of economic potential in enabling the state (the coalition) to conduct a war.
9. It should be emphasized, however, that the enemy's plan to conduct a strategic operation such as the one outlined here may not be feasible at the beginning of the war, due to the resistance of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact states. The nature of the targets attacked likewise will change.
10. NATO armed forces task force units include about 3,000 fighter-bombers and bombers. See B. Wozniecki, op. cit., p 165.
11. B. Wozniecki, op. cit., p 161.
12. Ibid., p. 166.
13. Ibid., p. 181.



POLAND

## PROGRESS OF NEW TRADE UNION IN GDANSK SHIPYARDS REVIEWED

### Miodowicz Pays Visit

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Jan 85 pp 1,2

[Article: "Current Tasks of the Trade Union Movement; OPZZ Activists at Gdansk Shipyard; Defend the Interests of Working People Responsibly and Effectively"]

[Text] A group of activists of the All-Polish Trade Union Agreement [OPZZ] met on the 3rd of this month in Gdansk with the OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz and Vice Chairman Romuald Sosnowski. The union activists came to the Gdansk coast at the invitation of the Okretowiec federation. The visit to the Gdansk Shipyard followed the placement of a wreath at the Fallen Shipyard Workers Memorial.

Then the OPZZ activists met with plant management and visited some production departments and ships under construction. It was a question of getting to know the shipyard working conditions and becoming familiar with their views concerning various plant problems and broader social issues.

These talks continued through a visit with the plant administration of the Trade Union of Gdansk Shipyard Employees, followed by a union meeting in the hull prefab and crafting department K-1. As Miodowicz emphasized at the outset, the visit to the Gdansk Shipyard, the first made by the central union activists to a plant since the formation of OPZZ, is directly related to the program statement in which OPZZ declares its desire to carry out the 1980 social agreements in full, and it was right in this shipyard that one of the agreements was signed.

At both of these meetings there was a discussion of both the current and the program problems of the trade union movement in Poland. Special attention is being given to issues concerning the society's living conditions, especially the ratios between wages and the costs of living. In their statements many shipyard workers expressed their alarm over the lowering of the standard of living in view of the price increases recently enacted and others announced. In responding to these views, Miodowicz stated that the current goal of the trade union movement is to prevent any further erosion of the standard of living. The first-order task will be to protect pension-



ers and retired persons. For example, the trade unions are going to try to accelerate by 1 year the pension and retirement pay adjustments scheduled for 1986. As for consulting citizens on price increases, the trade unionists feel that these consultations can get at the real opinions of working people. Miodowicz shared the opinion of a number of those present concerning the fact that the rent increases in cooperative housing had been too sudden and too great. He said that the cooperatives had not made enough effort to reduce their costs but had placed the entire burden of the increases on the residents.

One of the problems that came up in the discussion was the matter of joint decisions. Miodowicz said that OPZZ holds the position that the union movement partner in this matter should be the government rather than the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs. Overall agreements on this matter should open up the way to agreements signed in the places of employment.

The problems of housing construction received a great deal of attention. The shipyard workers, who undertook a broad program of single-family housing construction through their own efforts, stated that they were forced of necessity to take this step, but it is not the optimal solution, because it draws specialists away from their basic job. They should be building ships, not houses. The OPZZ chairman agreed with this view. He said that basic changes were needed in construction management and engineering to resolve the problem of housing construction in Poland. We also need to get away from ineffective large-slab technology in favor of materials which consume less materials and energy and provide for more rapid progress. A joint government-union commission should look into these matters.

The OPZZ chairman said that protection of the environment was a new problem which the trade-union movement intended to take up in more energetic fashion. In this realm the situation is getting worse and worse, and the government's intention of allocating barely 5 percent of the national income in the five-year plan for protection of the environment does not provide for the necessary progress. Environmental protection should be treated as the same thing as health protection, because the health of the society is coming to depend more and more on the condition of the environment.

Issues regarding the organization and future of the trade union movement were also discussed. A promise was made on behalf of its unity, and it was stated that the creation now or in the future of new trade union organizations alongside those already existing in the places of employment would only lead to conflict among the working forces and the unions' directing most of their energy to competing over wages and privileges. At present the developing trade union movement, which already has more than 5 million members, is showing more and more that it can defend the interests of working people responsibly and effectively, without losing sight of key state problems. It was stated that in order for operations to become more effective, the organizational structures must be strengthened and the forms of government contact bolstered, on the one hand, and the level of activity of the plant organizations must be increased, on the other. They must take full advantage of

their own independence and authority to govern themselves, realizing that there is no central union authority and that the OPZZ, the federations, and the voivodship structures being formed are only representatives of these independent plant organizations.

#### Problems, Tasks Outlined

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 4 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Ewa Grunert: "Is the Union Working Too Quietly?"]

[Text] However you look at the figures for the Gdansk Shipyards employees' trade union, they are too low. Out of more than 12,000 workers, 2,800 belong to the union, and this includes 552 pensioners.

"There would be 3,000 of us by now, but people sign up and withdraw," says chairman Krzysztof Skibicki. One thing is the great turnover of employees. Another is the fact that the technical supervisors among the workers still have a negative attitude, and sometimes there is pressure from people in the working environment. Foremen would rather not have unionists in their departments, in order to have things run more quietly.

What Is the Union Doing?

I learned in the office of the administration that it is on the move. All the meetings, both of the administration and in the departments, are open, and anyone can come to them, because no confidential matters are discussed. At these meetings opinions and demands are gathered and are subsequently taken care of, and there is corresponding documentation on this. The whole complicated issue of wages was recently under the magnifying glass, along with the new employee remuneration system introduced [last] 1 July. Now systems analyses are going on, because the various vocational groups have noted shortcomings which place them at a disadvantage.

Deputy Chairman Jerzy Madej explains, "It is a question of there actually being a rise in wages, but high inflation also continues, and living costs are on the increase."

In the course of the discussion of the new system, eight versions were presented, and the union made comments on each. Unfortunately, in a few moments the unionists had to withdraw their demands. They were most sensitive to the question of calculating the supplement for years of service. At present the law sets the lowest pay in Poland at 5,400 zlotys, and people do not want to settle for this, because it would be more just to calculate salaries by classification group.

"The workers are reluctant to believe that this lowest wage will grow, and the unionists throw up their hands. Although they convince us that it will grow. So the union is in the middle, between the law and the workers, because most feel that the law does not fit reality, but the union cannot change the law."

The next issue that came up was about the coal supplement. At present the workers receive a supplement of 415 zlotys added on to their pay. In this connection people asked about what would happen as the price of coal increases. It was finally decided that a rise in the price of coal would provide a rise in the hourly rate.

After the new wage system was put in place, the shipyard mean exceeded 26,000 zlotys. Of course there are differences between vocations and wage groups, but monthly earnings are high. People told me that a worker can now figure out his own monthly earnings, although people have not yet become very familiar with the new system and many people do not understand it very well.

K. Skibicki says, "It is too soon for recommendations. We have reached the point where the standard is a fixed size and the zloty is a variable, so we have to eliminate all sorts of preferential treatment and supplements, because up until now it has not been possible to touch the zloty, and the results of various increases turned out differently."

#### Everyone Wants To Make the Decision

The trade union statute says that it deals with matters concerning employees and represents them in the workplace and outside. At the Gdansk Shipyards the union was formed rather late, and not all plant decisionmakers give the unionists the sort of consideration they would like to have. Cooperation with the Employee Council is not the best, and this leads to frequent conflict.

Jerzy Madej says, "The Employee Council is convinced that its decisions cannot be overturned, but we say that each decision concerning employees must involve consultation with us. These are jurisdictional disputes, but for us they are a matter of principle."

At the beginning the "issue" was pensioners and their receiving the "13th month" bonus. The council says that this is no 13th month bonus but a bonus out of profits, and the pensioners have no right to that. The union upheld the view that the pensioner was an employee at the end and has the right to additional money. The dispute ended with the pensioners' being awarded the bonus fund for this year, a fund which they themselves will administer. Nobody knows what will happen this year.

The next discussion concerned the council and administration's proposal to increase the lunch break from 15 to 45 minutes, but the 30 minutes would have to be made up later. The union held discussions, which showed that the workers did not agree with the suggestion.

J. Madej says, "We argued that the shipyard is not prepared for a longer break, because there is a shortage of coffee stands and small tables, but the council countered saying that the break was lasting that long anyway. But this is not the workers' fault, after all, but the shipyard social services. In the end everything went back to the old way. The shipyards situation is that the council makes decisions which are unknown or about which neither the union nor the employees have much information."

"The unionists say that if some sort of problem comes up, then the director sees his way clear to talk with the union, but not for other things. The unionists are insulted that they were not consulted on the executive orders relating to the new system of wages. The management made the decisions unilaterally. Besides they still did not settle the issue of calculating what we call 'zero wages' for white-collar workers. They overlooked the people who received the right to years-of-service credit as of this past 1 July. This difference was included in the basic wage, but the union does not think that this coincides with the wage agreement."

K. Skibicki ways, "The matter has been dragging on far too long. We set two conditions: The difference must be paid to people, and the entire operation must be completed by the end of the year. The administration has already agreed to the first one, but we did not push the second one because the deadline should be much sooner."

#### What the Union Should Not Do

Actually the union should only handle two kinds of issues, social issues and issues relating to wages. That is the way it is everywhere, in countries without an economic crisis and in our country. But it is for this very reason that the trade unions are carrying around a lot of matters over which they have no influence. Why should the trade unions have to bother about the distribution, for example, of washers, refrigerators, or vacuum cleaners? There is a terrible shortage of these things on the market. To "take care of them" who knows where or how, to get a handful or dozen and some washing machines, for example, will surely not settle the issue of the demand for them but only splits up the staff still more. We know that the person who manages to get a washing machine this way will praise the union, while the person who marches off with a slip in his hand instead will scream about the injustice. There is no way out of this mess.

"We took this on because this is what the majority wanted," K. Skibicki explains, unconvinced. "Petitions came into us for the union to handle it. Last year we set up two markets. We came. We begged the people we had to, and finally we brought the goods to the shipyards. But even that was not enough. Later there were problems. We are not going to do this any more. Now we have a pool of equipment in short supply, and we distribute it to the collectives in each department, but we want to get out of this business. We will do this overall once this year and will repeat it next year. If the goods were normally in the shops, we would not bother to do this at the shipyards."

"Well, and that is the thing, even when the shelves are full, still thoughts of the future. Thus, even when the trade union tries to bargain to get something for the workers, it receives no human gratitude, because realities are what count here."



## Prospects for the Future

Young people belonging to the union at the Gdansk Shipyards number 918.

"Why so few," I ask the chairman. "First the young people were told they were the generation of great opportunity, later that they were the generation of lost opportunity. And young people are mad at everyone. I am not surprised that young people want to see the opportunity to get out of the crisis, but they see the trade unions as a spokesman for the administration, as an organization not on their side, one that does not give them anything, but the trade unions have to settle for compromises sometimes, because otherwise they would never take care of anything."

Young people can be "bought" first of all with an apartment. Unionists have come up with the idea of remodelling empty houses in Gdansk using their own shipyard funding. As everyone knows, there are 90 such houses. They are waiting to be done over, but the city does not have the money needed to do it. Nonetheless, talks with the Gdansk mayor have produced no decisions.

"We will come back to that," says K. Skibicki. "We even proposed to give the city a few apartments, but we have not won approval. I must say that I do not quite understand the city officials' position."

There is the opinion in the shipyards that the trade union does too little, that it does not fight hard enough for people, that unionists have nothing to show for their party membership except paying dues.

"There is not anything," says the chairman in irritation. "Of course we are doing a great deal for all workers, without dividing them up into members and nonmembers. But there are also privileges for our own members. In the summer there were four worker families who went to Denmark on an exchange with the Danish metalworkers union. We write recommendations on selecting candidates for the shipyard housing cooperative, and unionists are given priority. We are planning free vacation trips every 4 years, free health vacations for people working in positions hazardous to health. So I would not say that we are not doing anything."

The trade union at the shipyard is a young organization thrown into deep water. It is difficult to say whether in time it will succeed in strengthening its position, because this seems to depend not only on the shipyard workers but also to a great extent on the general situation in the country. But the people at the shipyard are right that at present the union is working too quietly and without beating their fist on the table, and sometimes it is worth doing that.

10790

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POLAND

#### TASKS CONFRONTING BAR ASSOCIATION CONSIDERED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Nov 84 p 8

[Article by Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki: "Laws and Decrees: Lawyers Consider the State and Law"]

[Text] As we have already reported, on 8 November the Main Administration of the Association of Polish Lawyers held a meeting devoted, concisely stated, to the role of law and lawyers in operation and development of the socialist state. A paper on this subject was presented by the president of association, Dr Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki. This paper is reprinted here, less the deletions made necessary by the length of the text.

A democratic state ruled by law and receiving the strong support of society guarantees attainment of the constitutional goals of the state and satisfaction of the needs of its citizens. This was the tenor of the theses formulated at the 17th Plenum, which stated that "socialist democracy is a government of law. The legal code expresses the fundamental goals and values of the system itself. Law serves the purposes of class rule by the workers, the laborers of town and countryside. It defines the rights, freedoms, and duties of citizens. The law defines the norms and framework of social life, introduces harmony and order, and regulates and improves the life of the community."

This thought is one of especially close concern to lawyers, being particularly important for accomplishment of the socialist process of regeneration, and of especially great topical importance in eliminating the danger of development of anarchy and lawlessness.

The universal desire for the state to ensure protection of freedom and rights, personal safety, and order, for it to serve in everyday life the cause of perpetuating the principles of social justice, must be accompanied by awareness of duties toward this state. Rights are indissolubly linked to duties.

#### Demands of the Times

Arousing the national conscience, molding political culture, and full institution of law, without any quibbles and reservations, are today

demands of the times, as well as long-range goals of the state. Being aware of the seriousness of such requirements, in 1983 the ZPP [Association of Polish Lawyers] took the following action.

It suggested introduction of instruction on the state and laws into the curricula of schools above the elementary level and cooperated in drawing up curricula on this subject and in writing a textbook. But it should also be pointed out that the administration of the Ministry of Education displayed especially great dedication in this matter.

It organized a meeting of young lawyers at which there was personal and representative participation by academic youth. This event reanimated the activities of the ZPP at institutions of higher education; this appears to hold out promise for the future.

It cooperated with the Main Political Administration of the Polish Army in organizing a symposium devoted to education by law, and also in disseminating information on the law among persons having a military service obligation.

It initiated cooperation with the Ministry of Administration and Area Development in raising the legal level of state administration and thus creating favorable conditions for promoting the legal literacy and awareness of society.

It undertook a variety of actions aimed at ensuring and instituting public communication. In this area the ZPP cooperated with the PRON in drafting a bill on social consultations and initiated and organized cooperation with the mass communications media.

The ZPP actions cited do not make up an exhaustive list of its activities in 1983; they have the aim merely of illustrating the interest of the association in fundamental matters of the state and law.

#### Transformation of Reality

The theses advanced at the 19th Plenum state that "legal consciousness is an integral part of the political culture of society, and education in the law an important trend in general civic education. According to the decision of the Politburo, a cohesive, integrated program of education in the spirit of observance of the law and the principles of community life is to be drawn up in the shortest possible time. It is to be administered at the earliest ages in all educational settings. It is to support the activities of the party, political groupings, and social organizations, legal circles, mass communications media, and institutions for the dissemination of knowledge."

This concept fully reflects the aspirations and positions advocated by the ZPP for a great many years. It is necessary to unite the energies of all organs and organizations in elaboration of a suitable program, which must then must be consistently carried out in its entirety. In place of the excessively frequent particular ambitions and ostentation, in place of the

improvised, uncoordinated initiatives, often based on fallacious belief that the mere adoption of a legal act or introduction of an organizational solution can solve a problem, there is need for a concept based on accurate knowledge of the actual state of affairs and application of means capable of transforming this state of affairs. There is thus need for a social program involving broad groups of implementers and recipients and extending to the basic elements of education, families and educational institutions and organizations. However, such a program must be authentically social in nature, involving broad groups of well-disposed persons, but must at the same time be a concrete one indicating the persons who are to cooperate in its implementation, for which the persons must feel themselves responsible, as well as the places and methods of such implementation. Hence it must not be bureaucratically distorted. It is a question, after all, of encouraging what is healthy in society and what can afford good prospects of self-defense against negative phenomena. It is especially important to mold such attitudes in young people, who at the beginning of the 1980's were drawn into a whirl of events dangerous to their moral condition; on more than one occasion children participated in the illegal unions and antistate activities.

#### Support, Not Replacement

The approval of society must be awarded to accomplishments thus far in the sphere both of creation and of administration of laws aimed at democratization of public life, at securing institutional guarantees for the ideas of democracy. The constant concern for utilization of these mechanisms is also to be applauded. At the same time, however, attention must be devoted in the future to the matter of overly intensive legislative activity. This aspect was pointed out at the 11th National Congress of the ZPP.

At the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR, the concluding address of the the Central Committee first secretary, General W. Jaruzelski, contained the following statement:

"An integrated and serious approach must be applied to laws. Even those laws certain parts of which cannot withstand the test of life are based on general assumptions leading to the obligation of behavior in accordance with the principles of socialism, that is, the constitutional assumptions of the socialist state."

Lawyers are aware of the great relevance of this thought. Of course, under the current conditions of inefficiency of other normative systems, the law must be resorted to more often as the state normative system, but the law cannot replace these systems; it can only support them.

The role of the law and its efficiency are not perceived with sufficient clarity by society as a whole. Many times much more is expected of the law than the law is able to deliver. Not infrequently a person seeks to interpret his own indolence, slackness, or carelessness as a deficiency of the defect of the law and to conceal his own responsibility by calling for change in the law. While we recognize the need for systematic evaluation and critical judgment of prevailing law, we at the same time have occasion

to observe disruption of the proper balance between such critical approach and the exertion required for administration of the prevailing law. We encounter this understanding of the role and function of law as a broad perception of society, but unfortunately also among certain representatives of state and economic administration.

Complaints of the excessive intensity of the legislative process are everywhere addressed to the legislature. It is easily forgotten, however, that all proposals and demands for new legal regulations have their sponsors, their often powerful patrons. Various pressure groups cause the correct criteria of conservation, rationalization, and optimization of the legislative process to be violated.

Hence in this sphere, as in many others, it must be realized that we ourselves, as a sector and a specialty, must make certain that realism, pragmatism, discipline, and consistency prevail in legal policy, and that efforts are concentrated on application and enforcement of the law, rather than on a search for explanation of why the law is applied or why it must be changed. The center of gravity does not lie in the laws, or in any event not exclusively and not only in the laws, but in social practice. This was expressed laconically by General Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR in his words "more democracy and more discipline." But we are constantly lacking in this discipline and consistency.

#### Penal Policy

"Greater effectiveness in the war on crime and unjustified enrichment requires more thorough analyses and the preparation of a report on the circumstances, scope, structure, and trends in development of threats to law, order, and social discipline. The report must be submitted to society for discussion, and must then become the basis for elaboration of a government program for combating pathology and criminality and for improving penal, rehabilitation, and postpenitentiary policy."

This party position meets with particularly great approval on the part of the association, since at its 9th Congress it also called for research work on "the principles and a model of penal policy as an element of state policy." Crime is a social phenomenon; it has an etiology of its own, and combating it requires proper discernment and suitable resources. Any emotionality or ad hoc approach, regardless of the motives of its authors, cannot counteract negative social phenomena. Public discussion of the report, and then of the program, at the same time represents educationally very important publicizing of the science of criminal pathology, the conditions favoring it, and means of combating it; it represents molding of consciousness of and literacy in the law, and as a result rationalization of human attitudes and creation of socially favorable conditions for operation of the law.

The ZPP must meet this political directive half-way. It must subject all the elements of importance in formulation of penal policy to thorough



objective discussion. But it must not forget in this discussion that penal law is only one of the many provinces of law. It may be more sensitive as regards dangers and consequences, but it is a relatively narrow province in comparison to other spheres. Very many citizens live their whole lives without coming into contact with penal law, and not everyone has to come into contact with civil law or even domestic law, but everyone must come into contact with administrative law. Tens of thousands of administrative decisions will exert an essential, and sometimes even decisive, influence on shaping consciousness of the law and legal literacy. This sector of the law has the widest range of application, and so it must receive greater attention from the ZPP.

### Effective Action

All these tasks in the area of creation and application of the law, in the sphere of legal education, will be carried out by concrete persons. Their attitude and their dedication will determine the assessment made by society of the quality of law, law and order, and the efficiency of the state. On the other hand, we are aware that the personnel situation in the majority of legal occupations is not a good one. The personnel shortage in small towns, the continuing phenomenon of withdrawal from the judicial and public prosecutor professions, and the great number of vacancies in the legal services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are only a few examples. The consequences of this situation are easy to imagine, and they will ensue in the near future.

Individual authorities are applying remedial measures, but the cooperation and collaboration of the ZPP appear to be needed. The way to counteract these phenomena is to conduct an appropriate enquiry to determine the reasons for the decision to leave for other occupations. It may be assumed empirically that these reasons also include vital, material ones, but to regard them as the only factors appears to be an over-simplification. In this area there seems to be a need for urgent, substantive analyses of the situation and for remedial concepts.

As was pointed out at the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, what is needed is to enhance the prestige of the law enforcement authorities, to achieve wider recognition of these authorities and the persons employed by them and greater understanding of their difficult work. It is too easy to go on from criticism of individual court decisions or criminal proceedings to general criticism of an authority. Emotionality and generalization are not good criteria on which to base judgment. The arduous, difficult work both of the investigating officer of the Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the public prosecutor and judge, notary, legal adviser, arbitrator, or attorney determines whether the law will be fully applied and what shape law and order will assume, both in large metropolitan areas and in small towns sometimes a great distance away from large centers. This truth must be widely publicized, since the attitudes and perceptions of society are not always unequivocal.

In investigation of the reasons for leaving certain occupations, consideration must also be given to the question of individual resistance to various



social pressures and attitudes, and often a sense of not being fully appreciated. When this phenomenon is analyzed, it is not just the persons leaving various occupations who are to be questioned, since they might often feel themselves to be singled out. Possibly the ZPP itself bears some blame in the area of assistance and care. Determination of actual motives and causes, along with application of remedial measures to them, is a matter of the highest importance.

Decentralization of the methods of legal regulation applied by individual authorities might have some effect on this situation. Despite the position of the ZPP, there has been no success in bringing about comprehensive examination of regulations with reference to the law enforcement authorities; nor are there clearcut answers to the problem of improving living conditions. An attitude of indifference must not be adopted toward this uncertainty, and sometimes lack of consistency, in view of the situation that has arisen. What is needed in this case is not mere words, but effective action.

6115

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POLAND

## CONTRIBUTIONS, AIMS OF PROGRESSIVE CATHOLICS OUTLINED

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 50, 9 Dec 84 p 4

[Article: "Ideological Concepts of the Catholic Left"]

[Text] Several weeks ago (in No 44 of TYGODNIK WSPOLCZESNY ARGUMENTY) we published excerpts from a speech by Sejm deputy Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Christian Social Association, at an international meeting on the subject of "Christians under socialism." This speech presented possibilities for cooperation between Christians and Marxists. Today, continuing this cycle, we are publishing extensive excerpts from a report by the chairman of the PAX Association (presented at the formal meeting of the board on 11 July 1984), Zenon Komender, member of the Sejm and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRL: "People's Poland, the homeland of all Poles."

People's Poland was born and shaped in the last period of World War II. Its origin was the fruit of the persistent and self-sacrificing struggle of the Polish people for independence, for a sovereign, orderly, just Poland; it was the result of international decisions and above all was the result of the decades-long struggle of the Polish left for a socialist form of Polish society and state.

Under the conditions of occupation and the war of liberation, Polish society sought many ways to oppose the invader. These conditions required of nearly every Pole a personal choice and decision regarding fundamental matters of life and the nation's struggle, its honor and future. Every Pole faced the necessity of defining his position and place in the nationwide struggle for liberating his homeland, for rebuilding Polish statehood, for its territorial and political shape. The Polish people emerged victorious in the struggle for independence, adding to their history book a new page of heroism and sacrifice. They also gained experiences whose universality and scope were deeply ingrained in Polish national, social and political consciousness. A new formula for binding patriotism to ideals of progress and social justice, to the need for moral renewal, emerged and was achieved at this time. Understanding of the ties between the fate of individuals and the fate of our own and other nations was intensified; consciousness of the need for effective and lasting protection of Poland from national calamities in the future was established.

One of the main currents in the struggle for independence was the military activity of Polish Army units, partisan and regular, within the country and beyond its borders. The exposure and fighting of regular armed detachments in eastern and western Europe demonstrated the continuity of the defensive efforts of the Polish people from 1 September 1939 to 9 May 1945. The soldiers of Polish Army units in the West who participated in the military operations of the allied armies on the Norwegian, French, North African and Italian fronts, in Belgium and Holland and finally in German territory, fought in the name of liberation of their nation. They testified to Polish participation in the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Military operations of people's armed units organized in the Soviet Union on the initiative of Polish communists of the war of liberation. Fighting on the main front of the Second World War, they started their combat route with the battle of Lenino and by the shortest path, in cooperation with the Soviet Army, led it to Poland and afforded the opportunity for direct participation in its liberation and in creating the framework of the re-emerging state.

The liberation in the summer of 1944 of the eastern areas of Poland and the promulgation of the July Manifesto establishing the Polish Committee for National Liberation, and later the provisional government, created conditions for defining the new political and territorial shape of Poland. The growing people's government organized Polish society for broader participation in the battles for liberation of Polish territory, in accelerating ultimate victory over the Third Reich. In the final stages of the war in Europe, the Polish People's Army numbered about 400,000 soldiers. Its operational part, after crossing the border of the Polish state along with the Soviet Army, fought on enemy territory, taking part in the final destruction of Hitler's army, in the assault on Berlin and liberating fraternal Czechoslovakia. Together with units remaining under orders from the government in exile, Polish Army units fighting against Hitler's Germany numbered about 600,000 soldiers at this time. They made a significant contribution to the defeat of Hitler's Germany and its allies.

The contribution of the reborn Polish state to the war was expressed not only in the exposure of its army. Near the end of the war Polish territory played an important role as a front for Soviet and Polish armies attacking in the west and south. Alongside this was a multifaceted economic effort and broad scale organizational and political activity by the newly emerging state authority.

Later in his speech, Zenon Komender emphasized that already during the war, especially at the beginning of the creation of the Polish people's state, the matter of attitude toward the Polish-Soviet alliance, or perhaps more precisely the problem of attitude toward the Soviet Union and its army, was a fundamental determinant of the political orientation of various groups. The socioprogressive Catholic movement in Poland, whose seed was the group centered around the weekly DZIS I JUTRO, and which later organized the PAX Association, clearly stated its position on this key issue. Association chairman Boleslaw Piasecki, in recalling this period, wrote: "The group that

created the framework for the progressive Catholic movement in Poland returned to the circle from which it came immediately in 1945 with a comprehensive, patriotically legitimate decision to choose alliance with the Soviet Union. Shortly afterward, in overcoming understandable difficulties in those years, it mobilized spiritual and secular Catholic opinion in Poland to active struggle for approval of the principle that 'the stronger the Soviet Union, the better for people's Poland and the stronger people's Poland, the better for the Soviet Union.'" This formula became one of the determining factors of the course of PAX's activity.

The brotherhood of arms and military alliances formed in the struggle against fascism and based on a unity of the political and socioeconomic goals of the reborn nations led to the emergence of a community of socialist countries whose main power is the Soviet Union, which has led it from the beginning. Poland's entrance into a share in the community of socialist states created a situation in which the Polish state had never been before throughout its entire history. Our country shares borders only with allied nations to which we are bound by national interests, ideological ties and close cooperation in every aspect of social and economic life. Comprehensive cooperation strengthens the community of socialist nations and thus people's Poland as well. That is why the opponents and enemies of socialism and Poland did and continue to do everything to weaken the ties of our people and state to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to lead Poland out of the socialist camp. We have experienced a particular stirring of these activities in recent years. This reanimation is associated with the general decline of East-West relations as well as, more specifically, the hostile position of some Western nations toward our internal situation after December 1981. Without underestimating these activities, one should view them as a further warning that a nation's security and territorial integrity are not a quality given or achieved once and for all, but rather should be the object of constant vigilance for its foreign policy. In this sense the preservation of the postwar territorial and political status quo is not only a characteristic of the last four decades but also a message for the future.

Patriotic socialist forces have shown with particular emphasis that historical experiences and the requirements of Poland's national existence require maintaining vigilance against German militarism and revisionism. This vigilance above all requires preservation of the national, territorial status quo in Europe as the basis of peaceful order. It also means persistent opposition to attempts to undermine the Potsdam territorial adjustments and to revisionist notions of German unification.

Our experiences in the last war and the longstanding arms race have shown that the issue of peace and activity in defense of the benefits it brings constitute an important and lasting current, not only for governmental but social activity as well. The socially progressive PAX movement from the start of its existence saw this activity as one of its main tasks. We are guided in this by national, Christian and universal considerations. The national consideration goes back to the Polish tradition of not using force in international relations, to the memory of the enormous human and material losses after the Second World War and to the understanding

that another war in Europe, in not excluding Poland, would bring it unimaginable losses. On Christian grounds we refer to the evangelical mandate to make peace among nations emphasized in the memorable encyclical "Pacem in Terris," to the teachings of John XXIII, Paul VI and John Paul II. The universal consideration is based on the conviction that since thermonuclear war has become a synonym for massive annihilation, the task of all humanity is to prevent it and build a lasting, secure and just peace.

In the achievements of the last four decades lies the work of masses of nonparty, believing citizens who bound their fate and that of their families to rebuilding a devastated country and building socialism. We are fully aware, too, that the history of the socially progressive PAX movement is integrally tied to the history of Poland. From the beginning of its existence our group has stood on the foundation of cooperation with Marxists in building a new system. The main assumption of our movement was joint responsibility for the future of Poland arising from patriotic impulses, the effect of which was conscious participation in realizing the program of socialist changes following the July Manifesto.

In the beginning only a part of the old intelligentsia was associated with this trend of socialist modification. But life brought positive changes. As rebuilding the country and economic, educational and cultural development progressed, an ever greater part and later the great majority of intellectual groups found themselves the place and opportunity for active achievement of patriotic efforts and professional aspirations. At the same time the ranks of the intelligentsia were enriched with youth from worker and peasant families molded under new conditions. Reconstruction and social changes embraced the realm of education, culture and science on an unusually broad scale. Poland's reconstruction after unprecedented wartime destruction, the struggle against profound conservatism, economic reconstruction, taking over, settling and managing the Regained Territories, as well as the process of transforming the country's socioeconomic structure through broad industrialization, required involvement by millions of Poles.

Changes in system, raising the level of education and the growth of industrialization in Poland's economy accompanied changes occurring in social awareness. One of the main features of these processes was and is general acceptance of the goals of the building of socialism. They are contained in the mandate for raising the standard of living of working people based on the principle of popular ownership of the means of production and social justice, referring to the principle of "to each according to his work," the development of participation in culture and in the political sphere--democracy, with simultaneous, continual comparison of these goals with the degree of their realization.

Alongside this necessary assessment of the degree of achievement of the goals of socialist construction, however, there should operate reliable knowledge of reality guided by the principle of shared political responsibility of citizens objectively informed and consciously participating in the decision-making process. Most often, however, this assessment has been distorted



by insufficient information and thus by inadequate public knowledge about the real process of development, on which the intentional activity of the enemies of socialism was fixed and intensified and is intensified today. They usually become active when there is a significant difference between declared goals and sociopolitical and economic realities and social awareness of them. This is the result of stagnation and distortion in the operation of socialist democracy, which is based always and above all on the fullest possible information and on observing the principle of consultative decisions in all aspects of social life. Only in this way can we create an effective system of social acceptance of nationwide programs and their particular parts. Shortcomings in the functioning of this component of social democracy also give rise to a widening of the gap between society's expectations and aspirations and reality.

Zenon Komender counts first among the basic objective elements that should be considered in assessing the accomplishments of people's Poland its historical legacy and thus objective cultural material condition as well as the qualities of human mentality and conduct inherited from the past. Speaking of a historical legacy, one should first mention economic and social conservatism being the result of Poland's difficult history. If we look at the issue from a longer historical perspective, it was the result of class egoism and a lack of economic imagination by the magnates and nobility, the weakness of the middle class and social and economic humiliation of the peasants, and it resulted from the sum of internal and external reasons that led to the downfall of Polish independence. The partitions and more than 120 years of captivity hindered and distorted the country's economic and social development to a significant degree. The cultural achievements of the interwar period were destroyed by Hitlerite occupation, which placed the Polish nation under the threat of biological annihilation and at the same time often brought destruction of the centuries-old achievements of certain regions. This historical legacy gave rise to our beginning the building of socialism with very meager economic resources and with a very low national standard of living. Also part of the objective legacy is the national historical consciousness, with its specific positive and negative qualities formed in the period of noble anarchy and later as a result of the partitions and struggle for independence. Among the negative qualities is the lack of respect for national authority, the experience of participation in democracy and the custom of highly organized, disciplined and therefore productive work.

But many errors in internal policy were not avoided; it was impossible to relieve social tensions that degenerated into ominous conflicts exploited and stirred up by the enemies of socialist Poland. In order to avoid a repetition of these menacing situations, it is vital to have consistent development of socialist democracy, which finds its basic point of reference in the existence of an economic system based on the principle of common ownership of the means of production and assures working people of participation in wielding authority. It is based on direct participation--through a variety of mechanisms--in preparation, consultation and decisionmaking, as well as on control over their realization by working people.

In this situation more than ever we need unity of activity of all patriotic prosocialist forces to offer resistance to these phenomena and tendencies. The platform uniting and organizing these forces was the July Declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] of 1982. In the PRON program, as an organization of many viewpoints, we proposed first of all accord by all patriotic forces, acknowledgement of the leading role of the party of the working class in building socialism, interest in continuing and developing the achievements of socialist Poland, effort toward approaching the essence of socialism and Polish national existence in the broadest spheres of society. In its activity so far PRON has created the opportunity for an exchange of ideas and experiences, for open discussion, expression of criticism, dispelling doubts, offering a variety of initiatives; it is intensifying the process of democratization and at the same time is a platform for the struggle against antisocialist forces.

Many times during difficult periods in the history of the PRL, the social progressive PAX movement defended the only valid position that socialist democracy is not a democracy of the free play of forces creating socialist political, antinational and social structures with the forces that negate and oppose, that systematically attempt to destroy the socialist Polish state. Socialist democracy is not a democracy of the free play of national and antinational forces.

The process of agreement among patriotic social forces in our country today should be based on the recognition of the basic values and goals contained in the resolutions of PRON's first congress. In our opinion, the continuing dialog and discussions of problems surrounding the issue of the people and state should create conditions for building the framework of a unifying, future-oriented program having as its goals:

- strengthening the state toward development of socialist democracy and its institutions;
- establishing equality under the law for all state institutions and citizens;
- realizing the principles of social justice;
- creating an effective economic system that takes into account the capabilities and broadly conceived needs of the society and state;
- effective recognition, exposure and control of the contradictions in social development and appropriate direction of that development.

The institutional measures fulfilling these assumptions should aim for timely detection of negative phenomena, at the same creating a guarantee of effective influence on the various contradictions in social and national interests and on improvement in the conditions of existence of families, above all through appropriate economic growth and a just distribution of national income consistent with the general social interest.

In this broad context one must also assess the last stormy years in Poland, especially the period of martial law, which was used not only for saving the socialist state from the threat of civil war and total economic catastrophe unleashed by anarchy and destructive strikes, but also for ensuring internal peace, supporting the process of stabilization of social life and vital reform of the system of the functioning of social life, the economy and national institutions.

The significant--not only for Poland--achievements of the last 40 years are embodied in the progress made during that time in Poland toward strengthening multifaceted social structures and socialist democracy. The history of people's Poland has shown that normalization of mutual relations and cooperation between the socialist state and Catholic Church on behalf of the common good are not only possible but are also necessary for the success of the nation and the future of Poland. In this conviction PAX created intellectual premises and social bases for national and social understanding in this crucial matter. At the same time, when significant progress has been made in this area, we see the need for further deepening of the cooperation between the state and the church as an important aspect of consolidating social harmony and building moral order. Aware of our responsibility as an ideological political movement of secular Catholics, we defended and will defend the church's suprapolitical, universal and patriotic role against attempts by antisocialist groups to exploit its moral and religious authority in the struggle with the modern Polish state. We also have defended and will defend the socialist state against tendencies to draw it into conflict with the church and religious points of view. We do this out of awareness of our patriotic responsibility as well as out of concern for the proper conditions for the evangelical mission of the church in Poland. We do not see relations between the church and the people's authority in mutual isolation or, moreover, in conflict. We see them in the protection and development of basic values for the welfare of the people and the state in the perspective of comprehensive socialism.

But the basis for positive advances in church-state relations in religious policy is the line of patriotic and socialist involvement by secular Catholics consolidated through the past four decades, the line of dialog and cooperation of Catholics and Marxists jointly buliding the socialist state.

12776  
CSO: 2600/332

POLAND

## PROBLEMS OF RECRUITING YOUTH FOR CIVIL SERVICE CAREERS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Dec 84 pp 3,4

[Interview with Professor Zygmunt Rybicki, undersecretary of state in the Office of the Council of Ministers, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Step by Step: Improving State Administration"]

[Text] [Question] The 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the party, dedicated to strengthening the state, is finished. The administration is, so to speak, the backbone of this great organism and in our country, it is not the strongest backbone. What must be done to rejuvenate the administration and thus make it less bureaucratic?

[Answer] The question contains a doubtful thesis. Administration requires qualifications, ability to apply these qualifications, a desire to participate actively and a certain amount of experience. Rejuvenating the personnel does not mean automatic debureaucratization.

[Question] Rejuvenation, however, means a struggle against routine...

[Answer] That is a simplification. What kind of routine are we speaking of? In state administration routine is very necessary. Repetitive activities based on a routine method of action are decidedly in the majority. Only 1/4 to 1/3 of activities require new, creative thinking, initiative, undertaking risk.

[Question] In a word, in administration, youth is not at all necessary?

[Answer] First, I did not say that; second, from my experience, it does not follow that youth automatically means creative ideas and initiative. To carry on a discussion, it would be well to know the facts. Let us consider the statistics. In the average provincial office the average age of the workers is 36-40. Are these old people?

[Question] And the structure?

[Answer] Of course. I do not have the age breakdown, but the work experience is this: more than 30 percent have up to 10 years experience. This is the largest group...

[Question] Excuse me, but we also have a group of more than 19 percent with 11 to 15 years experience, and a group of more than 20 percent with 21-30 years. Together with the the middle group, those who are oldest make up much more than half. We have no data on the age of the directors; these data would be even sadder...

[Answer] I would be reticent to display sadness on this account, but neither did I say that the situation is good. In thinking about the administration, I would be wary, however, of stereotypes, which journalists are so fond of spreading. Administration requires experience, even a certain stability. The greater the experience, the more effective administration may be.

[Question] Do young people have an opportunity for advancement in the administration? Advancement compatible with their real capabilities?

[Answer] We are making an effort to increase these opportunities gradually. On the other hand, however, we do not feel pressure on the part of the young people. They are not "forcing their way" into the administration and into executive positions in the administration. No doubt, there are many reasons for this. Relatively low pay in general makes it more difficult for us to select personnel for the administration, particularly for the lowest rungs. Then there is the great feminization, as much as 2/3 percent, of the civil service.

[Question] The young people are not forcing their way in. Perhaps this is a fact. Who is responsible? Perhaps the young people have not yet found their way?

[Answer] I do not know who is responsible. History? The older generation? Socialism as it has existed thus far? There may be many reasons, but we cannot change the facts. We cannot see any push toward administrative careers on the part of the young people.

[Question] In the text, "Youth is Coming," you may have noticed that something must have made those people, Gomulka's team of the 1940's, reach for power despite their youth. Thus, for me it was a historical necessity. Only such young people were needed for the revolutionary reconstruction of their time. I believe also that today, despite various declarations, there is no such historical necessity, there is no pull of advancement from the top which might draw youth. Positions are mostly occupied and there is no need to vacate them suddenly...

[Answer] You have said yourself that they "reached," but we do not see this reaching, this visible desire of youth to take responsibility.

[Question] No one asked those in the 1940's whether they wanted to take responsibility.

[Answer] I do not know if they were asked. Today I am asking, where are those young eagles, where are those chargers?



giousness. And such a young person is quickly blackballed.

[Question] Perhaps we do not want to see them from such high positions.

[Answer] Energy must come from the bottom.

[Question] And why not from the top?

[Answer] At the bottom there are needs, aspirations. This is what you are talking about.

[Question] Not necessarily. Aspirations for advancement is one thing, the need for having young people in administrative positions is another. It must also be an aspiration of the "top," because the need to advance the young must come from the work of teachers, pedagogues and psychologists. The greatest effectiveness of a man, psychomotor effectiveness, occurs between the ages of 25 to 35 or 40. After that experience increases, but general effectiveness decreases. There are, of course, exceptions, but this is the rule.

[Answer] Those teachers are certainly not from Warsaw University because there, despite a "pull" from the top, the acquisition of doctorates and qualification certificates goes very slowly. But let us return to the administration in which our efforts to "catch" the young and capable have a limited success.

[Question] And so such efforts exist?

[Answer] Obviously. We have created particular studies especially for youth, the Center for Postgraduate Education of State Administration Employees. For this, we select people with 4 years of experience who show promise and are not more than 35 years old. We have graduated the first 60 and given them advanced positions. They studied for a year and a half. They learned the mechanisms from the bottom up, and what now? They were given the opportunity to prove themselves, and now after a few months several of them have expressed a desire to leave the frontline of battle.

[Question] For example?

[Answer] They want to run away from independent positions to functioning as advisors, and to places closer to "departure points."

[Question] And so the government makes an effort to create this pressure from the top to advance young people in the administration.

[Answer] It has to. But is this the way it should be?

[Question] As far as I can see, it should since it is necessary to know how to free initiative. Our experience did not favor it. Initiative in administration especially does not pay for a young person. The older people suspect him at once of opportunism, designs on their positions, or of liti-

[Answer] Let us leave these evaluations aside. A more thorough analysis would be required to prove or disprove them. Generally speaking, it is not just in the administration that we are currently suffering a lack of social activity, a lack of vigor, healthy ambition to lead, to excel. Many would like to be a Grzymek, Penderecki or Szewinska, but very few want to work as they worked, even if they had this talent.

[Question] But in the administration do mechanisms function that would result in a natural, accelerated advancement of young people in the offices? Not advancement controlled centrally by the Office of the Council of Ministers in the form of a postgraduate center, although this way is also necessary, but mechanisms of natural advancement?

[Answer] Actually we do want to remove the barriers and smooth the channels of advancement. Today advancement in the administration depends primarily on appointments to higher posts, therefore is almost exclusively vertical. We want to develop the possibility of horizontal advancement so that it would not be necessary to advance to the position of director in order to gain greater prestige, independence and better compensation.

[Question] Will this be so attractive, for example, that a distinguished specialist will make as much as a chief?

[Answer] It will be attractive, but I do not know if it will be that attractive. I would like it to be so. In order for such a system to "go," we would have to have people willing to advance to these positions as directors or chiefs. Today there are none. We cannot allow a situation where everybody would want to be a first-grade official, but no one, if the salaries were to be the same, would want to make decisions and accept responsibility for them, no one would volunteer to be a manager.

[Question] This is a catastrophic vision. Poles like to be managers and want to be managers.

[Answer] Not always. Today we have many problems with finding adequately qualified leaders of gminas. In the proposition we are discussing, a channel might in some way be unblocked for vertical advancement for those ambitious young people. I am afraid that there will not be enough of them. For this reason, it is necessary to anticipate quite high allowances since there is also other argumentation. How can someone from the workforce, having less responsibility, make more than the chief?

[Question] Such problems are always met when pay is generally low, and this is what our state administration is paying...

[Answer] Unfortunately this is so. In general, industry and other sectors of the economy have surpassed us. But the country cannot regulate this matter so as to "skip over" the other levels. We are, however, conscious of the needs.

[Question] In summation, as a minister, do you see people in the administration who have experience, are trained and know the routine; statistical data confirm that more than half of the people are in this category. As a professor, however, would you like to see a rejuvenation of the personnel and exploitation of the various methods for more rapid advancement of the young people, their additional training and better use?

[Answer] I do not want to be a "mirror" for such views. I understand it this way: it is not true that there are no young people in the administration. It is true that we do not feel their pressure. There is a lack of desire to advance that would meet the scale of our expectations and needs. I see a need for a change in generations in the administration, and this should be a normal phenomenon. We must think of the situation that will prevail in 5, 10 or 15 years. It is only for this reason that we are creating auxiliary forms of stirring a movement toward the top among the young people, although I would rather have a strong pressure from the bottom on the part of the young people themselves. Evaluation of reality is one thing, the desire and methods of making changes is another.

I favor evolutionary changes in this sphere. In administration, there is a series of routine activities suitable for followers. We have both young and old people in this category. Speaking lightly, a person who wants to change the method of placing a seal on an identity card every day is a catastrophe for the administration! A knowledge of the work means a great deal and that is what is very lacking. Actually there is a lack of solidity, being systematic, routine approach to routine matters and a creative approach to non-typical matters. We need many more young people, highly qualified administrative personnel. For this reason, we are undertaking actions to get them.

[Question] But how can you attract young people when the administration pays 1/3 less than industry?

[Answer] That is why I favor evolution. An immediate increase in pay in itself will not settle the matter, although it is necessary. Indispensable are better technical equipment (communications, transport, office machines), more consistent legal instruments, teaching administrative methods of contact with society, more effective implementation of resolutions of the council and many other factors. Forcing technical means when the workforce is poor will not help very much either. We must proceed step by step, systematically and doggedly, efficiently, not breathlessly, constantly forward. We have already begun to act in this way.

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POLAND

# COMMANDER DISCUSSES ACTIVITIES OF ENGINEER TROOPS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 46, 11 Nov 84 p 5

[Interview with Brig Gen Zdzislaw Stelmaszuk, chief of the Engineer Forces of the Ministry of National Defense, by Tadeusz Oziemkowski: "Sappers Are Everywhere"]

[Text] [Question] General, the modern combined-arms battle contains a high degree of maneuver and is waged under conditions which threaten the use of weapons of mass destruction. Under these circumstances, engineer protection of the operational forces plays a considerable role.

[Answer] The engineer protection of the fighting forces boils down to the two aspects of modern battle: in the offense, it leads to the creation of conditions which guarantee the conduct of combat operations at a rapid tempo; in the defense, it ensures continuity and survivability, freedom of action and concealed deployment.

[Question] Could you please specify the missions undertaken with the assets of the engineer forces?

[Answer] Our forces conduct engineer reconnaissance of the enemy and terrain; they overcome the enemy's engineer obstacles and barriers and construct the same for friendly forces, accomplish necessary demolitions, build and maintain crossing points over water obstacles, prepare and maintain roads, contribute to the fortification of terrain features, acquire and purify water, and provide combat forces with engineer equipment and assets.

[Question] Engineer forces play more than their basic role on ranges and in training areas...

[Answer] We train not only in the field and serve not only operational forces. Our units construct barracks, facilities, and housing for personnel; they reconstruct and modernize existing recreational facilities, including swimming pools, tennis courts and health and resort facilities. As a result of our efforts, civilian enterprises and the national economy are considerably less burdened with these responsibilities.

[Question] Up until now, we have been talking about the internal affairs of the engineer forces. What about the troops of the engineer forces, their self-sacrifice and dedication? Do we hear enough about this?

[Answer] Perhaps what I will now say might sound pompous, but there would be no normal life or work in Poland were it not for the efforts of the soldiers of the engineer forces. From the first days of our freedom, they cleared mines and explosives from enormous tracts of land; they then ploughed and sowed this land. Today our entire country is divided into sectors in which no fewer than 65 mine and explosives clearing teams work constantly. Although many years have passed since the war's end, the "rusty death" continues to make its presence felt. Every year we receive 5,000 to 6,000 notices of the existence of explosive and dangerous materials. In the last 3 years our soldiers have deactivated approximately 200,000 bombs, artillery shells, hand grenades and small-caliber ammunition. By the end of September of this year we had received 3,500 notices.

[Question] When the media inform us about the possible existence of an unexploded projectile, the public's attention is concentrated either for a short or long time on the operations being undertaken by your troops.

[Answer] Experience has taught us that we cannot wait for something to happen. At the end of every year, a conference with representatives from the ministries of transportation and agriculture, the Main Flood Control Committee and the forces dealing with possible flooding and icing conditions is organized. People talk about those things--road and rail bridges, dams, locks and barriers--which might have to be safeguarded in the event of a flood. Our leaders present a plan for our troops' participation in any eventual action.

[Question] How many sites are protected by the engineers?

[Answer] Every year we protect 148 bridges, 43 dams and locks, 9 sections of flood dikes and 29 other sites.

[Question] With what forces and resources?

[Answer] We have on call soldiers, several hundred amphibious track transports and other amphibious assets. If the need arises, we have helicopters placed at our disposal.

[Question] There have been no threats recently.

[Answer] That is true, but we will long remember our flood control actions in the Plock area in January 1982. The threat to the area was so great that we had to direct more than three-fourths of the forces and resources we had earlier designated in our engineer units for flood fighting.

[Question] There was a lot of talk about Plock throughout the country.



[Answer] And not only about Plock. People were also talking about Konin and Kostrzyn. There were as many as 50 actions of significance, but of lesser scope. Our soldiers were everywhere. And most importantly, not a single soldier was lost during these actions! Such results speak for themselves and require no commentary.

[Question] Another winter is approaching and we have no idea what it will bring.

[Answer] We are ready to do the same as we have done in years past.

[Question] But this surely does not end the efforts of the troops of the engineer forces. They are also ready to help society and the national economy in other ways, are they not?

[Answer] The next area which will receive our soldiers' attention is a potential granary for our country--the marshlands. Work there will go on for several years because neglect there was great. This year alone saw several hundred of our soldiers working there. By the end of September they had built 135 kilometers of beaten track and 12 bridges (each up to 25 meters long); they thickened and buttressed 32.5 kilometers of flood dikes, reconstructed and cleared 10,000 cubic meters of soil for the construction of flood dikes.

[Question] We were also talking about bridges. Many considerably stronger bridges have been constructed throughout the entire country.

[Answer] During this year our soldiers have constructed a total of 21 bridges, each one from 30 to 90 meters in length; they have been built mainly in agricultural areas for the purpose of shortening the distances to fields under cultivation.

[Question] From time to time the central and local press informs us about various demolition projects which use explosive materials. Is this true?

[Answer] The engineer forces completed many projects in this area during the 1970's as part of the intense investment program underway in our country. Currently, the largest undertaking of this kind has been going on now for 3 years with the demolition of a bunker in the Gdansk Ship Repair Yards. We are dealing with a formidable four-floor structure with reinforced concrete walls as much as 3 meters thick and with a volume of 4,500 cubic meters. Unfortunately, the demolition efforts cannot be too extensive, nor the work itself intense, since normal activity is ongoing in the shipyard nearby. We have to drill systematically, place the charges, set them off, cut off the steel rods, load everything up and cart it away... It is a cycle, done meticulously, systematically and consistently. I will add, though, that the work has already passed the half-way mark.

[Question] We have talked about a great many things, but have we exhausted the subject?

[Answer] Not at all. Because of hurricane winds, which in recent years have several times struck various parts of our country, we have still one more kind of calamity: the wind storm. According to estimated figures, there are 6 million cubic meters of wood that has been blown down in our forests, and as time goes by the wood rots and is lost forever. In order to prevent this, even if only minimally, and help the Forestry Ministry, we have allotted from our engineer units 30 frame sawing machines, which together with their maintenance units have been working almost throughout this year. The soldiers cut the blown-down wood and remove it in military transports.

[Question] Have we said anything, General, about the construction of wells?

[Answer] As an introduction to this problem, I would like to state that after 3 years of drought, one-third of the surface of our country is facing a catastrophic threat of water shortage. As a result of an initiative on the part of the leadership of the National Defense Ministry, we have taken on our shoulders the two most threatened provinces: Radom and Olsztyn. We are to construct 33 wells in the former and 41 in the latter. Up to now, our subunits drilling for water have already constructed 35 deep-water wells with a yield of from 7 to 9 cubic meters of water an hour. In the near future, we will install pumps which will raise the water yield to 20 cubic meters an hour. We will continue our work in this area next year as well.

[Question] Can we sum up what we have talked about, General?

[Answer] We train the soldiers of the engineer forces primarily to assist our operational forces. Additionally, they perform many educational and productive functions for the national economy. Thousands of young people in uniform acquire profitable professions during their military service which are valued and sought after in civilian life: tractor operator, face hammerer, scraper, bulldozer operator and excavator. Also miners, amphibious equipment operators and current-producing generator operators. The soldiers not only learn new professions or perfect qualifications they already have; they grow into patriots and law-abiding citizens of their country, educated to honor the progressive and revolutionary traditions of our nation and the Polish People's Army.

1224/

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POLAND

ARMORED TROOPS SCHOOL COMMANDER DISCUSSES PROGRAM

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Nov 84 p 3

/Interview of Brig Gen Zdzislaw Gluszczyk, commander of the Stefan Czarniecki Armored Troops Officers Higher School in Poznan, by Capt Wieslaw Rasala/

/Text/ The Stefan Czarniecki Armored Troops Officers Higher School in Poznan belongs to the group of the oldest educational institutions of the Polish People's Army. It is one of the officers' schools which were established in the fall of 1944 in accordance with the general plan for the development of the army. The school has undergone several phases of development culminating in 1967 when it became the highest professional educational institution for personnel of armored units. The graduates who have left the institution's hallowed walls are devoted and highly qualified armored unit officers. Many of the today perform extremely important and responsible functions in the armed forces.

/Question/ The 40th anniversary celebrations certainly cause one to reflect on the subject of achievements.

/Answer/ In the 40 years of its existence, our school has educated several thousand personnel from armored units and young political officers dedicated to the cause of socialism and excellently prepared for their jobs. A specific example of our school's accomplishments was the six-time attainment of first place among the senior officers' schools of the Polish People's Army and the retention of a leading position among these same schools in other years. In 1974, as a result of our achievements in the area of cadre instruction and education, the Council of State awarded the school the Order of the Banner of Labor, Second Class. Additionally, our school was distinguished three times with the medal "For outstanding achievements in military service," the medal "For achievements in military service," the medal "For contributions to the Silesian Military District" and the National Commission's medal. Our greatest satisfaction came in 1984 when we were awarded the Order of the Banner of Labor, First Class, by the Council of State and the school was cited in an order of

the defense minister for its contributions to the education of its command and political personnel and the strengthening of the defenses of the Polish People's Republic.

/Question/ The organization of the didactic process certainly impacts fundamentally on the above-mentioned successes.

/Answer/ The answer can be in the affirmative. The methodical efforts of the school, its faculty, subject course and class subunits reflect these successes to a great degree. The objectives of these efforts have been the systematic improvement of the didactic and educational skills of the lecturing and instructional faculty, and subunit leaders, as well as the improvement and development of the best organizational forms of teaching, methods of course conduct and their standardization. We primarily want to improve the dissemination and popularization of the best ways of utilizing our instructional base.

As a result of our methodical activities, the student officers attain the skills for independent development and the carrying out of lessons on the subunit level; they become familiar with the forms and methods applied in subunit training by utilizing simulated combat situations during exercises.

But this is only one side of the coin.

/Question/ And what is on the other side?

/Answer/ The school's successes are unflinched primarily by the efforts of the PZPR College Committee, the Council of Science, teaching and command personnel, and the student officers. In all likelihood, it is this "human" factor which facilitates the favorable implementation of tasks which improve qualitatively the school's organizational life. In the realization of the cadre mission of the party-political apparatus, teaching and command personnel and the student officers constantly search for the best solutions to all problems.

/Question/ And who are the best among the personnel?

/Answer/ I can pretty much mention their names in one breath. Among others, there are Col Jan Szamatula, Eng Col Piotr Polec, Eng Col Stanislaw Grocholski, Col Andrzej Kubecki, Eng Col Seweryn Dynel, Lt Col Zbigniew Szymczak, Capt Marian Lukaszyk, Second Lt Andrzej Jeziorski, Second Lt Wieslaw Sobolewski, Eng Second Lt Jacek Borowiecki, Sgt Ens Krzysztof Szyffers and Jr Sgt Ens Czeslaw Zasilski.

/Question/ Scientific-research efforts are a factor which enhance and qualitatively improve the education process. How are these efforts regarded at the Armored Troops Officers Higher School?

/Answer/ Scientific-research efforts, mainly those which qualitatively enhance the effectiveness of the educational process, have been conducted by research teams made up of the lecturing personnel from the subject courses. In 1984, 17 scientific-research subjects were implemented in the areas of: improvement of the didactic-educational process; the search for the most efficient types of



tank subunits combat and improvement of the training methods in these areas; and the improvement of the school's leadership and direction, as well as research in the utilization of military equipment.

Our attention is also drawn to the team project on: "Subroutines with Peri Instructions Which Make Possible the Programming of the Teletransmission of Digital Bits in the Computer Languages of Fortran and Cobol." The main merit of this project is the creation of opportunities to take advantage freely of the package of universal subroutines which serve the basic functions of screen monitors. This innovative project meets the requirements which qualify it for dissemination in those departments of the Defense Ministry which are equipped with the Odra 1325 computer and screen monitors.

/Question/ Are there any problems with improving teaching and command personnel?

/Answer/ The acquisition on the part of the teaching and command personnel of the highest professional qualifications has been generated primarily by the function which the school is supposed to perform in teaching and educating. Today, 22 officers have doctorates in various specialties, while 11 more are pursuing doctoral studies. Additionally, our faculty enhances its qualifications through postgraduate studies and by attending military and civilian academies.

In the area of pedagogical enhancement, the Armored Troops Officers Higher School organizes and implements three degrees of pedagogics: adaptation training for young academic teachers, postgraduate studies at military and civilian academies and self-education efforts to enhance constantly the teacher's education and knowledge levels.

In recent years, approximately 40 percent of our didactic and command personnel have been busy with their pedagogical development. There will be an even greater increase in this direction in 1985. Factually speaking, 95 percent of our didactic personnel have had higher academic education in the second degree. We have seven masters of didactics and every year we expect to see at least three to four new candidates.

/Question/ What about contacts with other schools?

/Answer/ On the basis of a developed plan and guided by the desire to develop and strengthen cooperation and an exchange of experiences, as well as mutual assistance, we implement annually joint intentions in party-political, teaching and scientific-research efforts. Joint participation in scientific symposiums and conferences and the participation of our teaching and personnel and student officers in these events is moving toward the undertaking of joint scientific-research efforts and the dissemination of new or better developments in teaching methodology with modernization and the proper utilization of our educational base.

Our cooperation with Poznan's civilian institutions of higher learning is also coming along favorably; these include the Poznan Institute of Technology, the Adam Mickiewicz University, and the Music College. Our school also maintains ties with the Physical Education Academy, the Medical Academy, and the Agricultural Academy.



The assistance of Poznan's institutions of higher education to us has not been only one-sided. The Armored Troops Officers Higher School has rendered extensive assistance to the military studies of these schools. They take advantage of our field and facilities base, combat technical equipment, library and innovations.

Every year, officers of military studies participate in instructional-systematic courses organized by the school. Officers of various specialties conduct lessons with students and faculty on not only military-related subjects, but on political and professional studies as well. The cooperation which is developing encompasses currently not only didactic and scientific issues, but also sport and recreational ones as well.

/Question/ What actions will your headquarters undertake in the near future?

/Answer/ By utilizing the suggestions and ideas of line units and the experiences of our student officers, associated with alternating studies, we will modify our teaching and education program.

The reconstruction of our field training and facilities base for the training of our student officers will continue. We will strive to expand our scientific and research efforts with regard to the training of military forces.

Another substantial problem is the further improvement of the infrastructure and social living conditions at our school.

/Interviewer/ Thank you for the interview.

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